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HON. W. L. MacKENZIE KING, M.P.
Who was selected by the Convention as
Leader of the Liberal Party
of Canada

THE STORY

OF

THE CONVENTION

AND

THE REPORT OF ITS PROCEEDINGS

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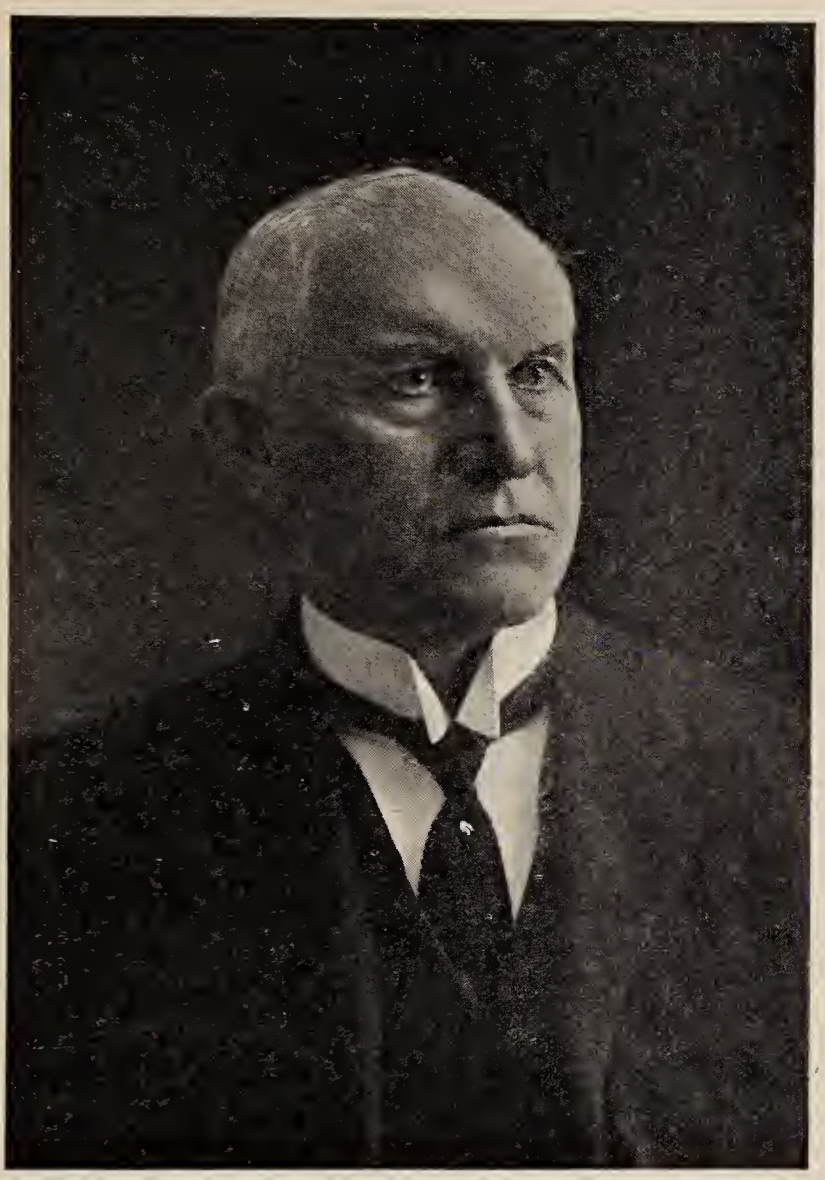

HON. CHARLES MURPHY, M.P.
Who planned, organized and directed the Convention

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THE STORY OF THE CONVENTION

OWING to political changes that had taken place throughout the Dominion, and on account of social and economic conditions, that had been accentuated by the war, there was, among the Liberals of Canada, a constantly growing sentiment in favor of holding a National Liberal Convention, as soon after the war as possible. The Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, and eight days later, Sir Wilfrid Laurier announced, in a speech at London, Ontario, that a National Liberal Convention would be held at Ottawa in the course of the following year. This announcement appeared in the press on November 20, 1918, and, on the same day, Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P., sent from Ottawa the following telegram to Sir Wilfrid at London:

> "Suggest that we open office here, with Andrew Haydon in charge, to prepare for National Convention. A similar arrangement was made in 1893."

This telegram, and Sir Wilfrid's approval of the suggestion contained in it, marked the first step towards organizing the work of the Convention of 1919.

Tentative plans were informally discussed, and a general outline of the preliminary arrangements for the Convention was ready for submission to Sir Wilfrid when he was stricken with a fatal illness on February 15, 1919. His death, two days later, suspended the work that was then in hand and, eventually, made new arrangements necessary.

After the Liberal Members of Parliament had held a Caucus, and selected Mr. D. D. McKenzie, M.P., as temporary leader in the House of Commons, they appointed an Advisory Committee to assist him in the discharge of his duties. This Committee, in turn, appointed five of its members, as a sub-committee, to prepare a report that would define the purpose of the Convention, suggest the date upon which it should be held, specify the total number of delegates, and the basis upon which they would be chosen.

THE OFFICIAL CALL

In due course, such a report was drawn up by the sub-committee, and presented to the Advisory Committee for discussion and approval. By the latter Committee, it was adopted and then submitted to the Parliamentary Caucus for its sanction before being communicated to the Liberals of Canada. After the report had been carefully considered in caucus, it was unanimously approved and made the basis of the Call for the Convention, which was issued in the following terms:

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
OTTAWA, *May 6, 1919.*

"Pursuant to the announcement made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in" "November, 1918, and in conformity with a resolution adopted by" "the Liberal members of the Senate and of the House of Commons" "of Canada, a Convention of the Liberal party is hereby called to" "take place in the City of Ottawa, on August 5th, 6th and 7th next."

"The purpose of the Convention will be:—*First*—to draft, discuss" "and adopt the platform of the Liberal party of Canada; *Second*—" "to deal with the question of party organization; *Third*—to select a" "leader in succession to Sir Wilfrid Laurier."

"Following as closely as possible the plan adopted for the National" "Liberal Convention of 1893, the representation at the forthcoming" "Convention will be as follows:"

"1.—All the members of the Senate and of the House of Commons" "who desire to co-operate with the Liberal party, and all the" "Liberal candidates who were defeated at the last Dominion" "election."

"2.—The Liberal Premiers and the leaders of the Liberal Opposition" "in the several provinces."

"3.—The Presidents of the nine Provincial Liberal Associations."

"4.—Three delegates from each Dominion constituency who will" "be elected at a local convention, to be called for that purpose." "In the case of constituencies having two parliamentary" "representatives six delegates will be elected. *Women will be*" "*eligible for election as delegates in all constituencies.*"

"5.—The Liberal members of each provincial assembly and the" "Liberal candidates defeated at the last provincial assembly" "election in each province, acting jointly, shall have the right" "to select from among themselves a number of delegates equal" "to one-fourth of the total number of representatives in each" "provincial assembly."

"The Liberal press throughout the land is especially and earnestly" "invited to attend."

"Owing to changed conditions arising out of the war, and to the" "desirability for co-operation among all ranks of Liberal democracy" "in dealing with grave national problems, invitations will be extended" "to the Canadian Council of Agriculture, the Dominion Trades and" "Labour Congress, the Great War Veterans' Association, and the" "Canadian Railroad Brotherhoods to send representatives to the" "Convention for the purpose of presenting such views as these" "national bodies may desire to present, prior to the drafting and" "adoption of a National Liberal platform."

"REGULATIONS"

"To expedite and systematize the work of preparing for the Con-" "vention, the following Regulations have been adopted:—"

"The call for the Convention shall be sent to each Provincial" "Liberal Government, to each Provincial Liberal Association, to each" "Dominion Liberal Member, and to each Liberal candidate defeated" "at the last Dominion election."

"The Provincial Liberal Association, in conjunction with each" "Dominion member or defeated candidate as the case may be, shall" "jointly arrange the date, place and hour of meeting of the local" "Convention in each Dominion Constituency at which three delegates" "for the National Convention are to be elected."

" If the sitting member or the defeated candidate refuses, or fails" "to act, or in the event of the death of such member or candidate," "the Parliamentary General Committee may select a resident of the" "constituency affected by such failure, neglect or death, to act in" "conjunction with the Provincial Liberal Association in taking the" "necessary steps to have a local convention held and three delegates" "elected in accordance with these regulations."

" In each constituency in which there is an active Liberal Associa-" "tion, the sitting Liberal member, the defeated candidate, or the" "resident selected as in the next preceding paragraph mentioned," "may request the President of such Association to co-operate with" "him in all matters relating to the calling and holding of the local" "convention for the election of the said three delegates."

"A local convention shall be called in each Dominion Constituency" "not later than the 30th day of June, 1919, for the election of the said" "three delegates by a majority of the votes of those present at the" "meeting. To ensure a representative attendance at each of such" "conventions, sufficient advance notice shall be given by advertise-" "ment or otherwise and the date, hour and place of meeting shall be" "mentioned in such notice."

" In addition to the said three delegates, there shall also be elected" "three alternate delegates at each of the said local conventions." "Each person so elected shall be furnished with a certificate of his" "election as such delegate, or alterate delegate, and each of the said" "certificates shall be signed by the chairman and the secretary of" "each local Convention."

" Similar certificates will be issued to the defeated Liberal candidates" "who are entitled to attend the National Convention as delegates."

" Forms of certificates will be prepared under the direction of the" "Parliamentary General Committee at Ottawa and the persons to" "whom they are mailed will be held responsible for their proper" "distribution and return."

"Each of such certificates duly filled in and signed as aforesaid" "must be returned so as to reach Mr. Andrew Haydon, the General" "Secretary of the Convention, at 44 Elgin Street, Ottawa, on or" "before the 14th day of July, 1919. Upon receipt of the said certifi-" "cates, the said General Secretary will issue and mail credentials to" "the delegates and alternate delegates entitled thereto."

" Credentials for all other persons entitled to attend the said" "convention will be issued and mailed in due course by the said" "General Secretary."

"D. D. McKenzie."

Committees Appointed

Coincident with the issue of the call for the Convention, the Parliamentary Advisory Committee authorized the formation of two general committees, with separate lines of action, namely: a National Liberal Convention Committee, which would have full charge of all

matters relating to policy; and a committee drawn from Ottawa and Eastern Ontario, which would be known as the Local Committee of Arrangements, and would have charge of all working details. These two general committees were at once organized; the Convention office was opened in Central Chambers, Number 44, Elgin Street, Ottawa; and Mr. Andrew Haydon was installed as general secretary of the Convention.

The members of the National Liberal Convention Committee were:

D. D. McKenzie, M.P., North Sydney, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Chairman; Senator Hewitt Bostock, Ducks, B.C.; Senator W. C. Edwards, Ottawa; Senator N. A. Belcourt, Ottawa; W. H. White, M.P., Alberta; Dr. J. P. Molloy, M.P., Manitoba; Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P., Ottawa; D. C. Ross, M.P., Strathroy, Ont.; I. E. Pedlow, M.P., Renfrew, Ont.; Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P., Montreal, Que.; James A. Robb, M.P., Chateauguay-Huntington, Que.; E. B. Devlin, M.P., Wright County, Que.; F. S. Cahill, M.P., Pontiac, Que.; Dr. J. E. Fontaine, M.P., Hull, Que.; Ernest Lapointe, M.P., Kamouraska, Que.; L. J. Papineau, M.P., Beauharnois, Que.; Hon. John Oliver, Premier of British Columbia; Hon. Chas. Stewart, Premier of Alberta; Hon. W. M. Martin, Premier of Saskatchewan; Hon. T. C. Norris, Premier of Manitoba; Hon. Sir Lomer Gouin, Premier of Quebec; Hon. W. E. Foster, Premier of New Brunswick; Hon. Geo. H. Murray, Premier of Nova Scotia; H. H. Dewart, K.C., M.P.P., leader of the Liberal Opposition in the Province of Ontario; J. H. Bell, leader of the Liberal Opposition in Prince Edward Island.

The Local Committee of Arrangements was enlarged from time to time, and, ultimately, it included the following:—

Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P., Chairman; E. A. Larmonth, Hon. Geo. P. Graham, H. B. McGiverin, A. E. Provost, E. J. Daly, H. H. Horsey, A. C. Hardy, T. A. Low, Gordon C. Edwards, Norman F. Wilson, Alexander Smith, Damase Racine, M. L. A., E. R. E. Chevrier, J. O. Herity, J. E. McGlade, R. Smith, K.C., J. D. Pregent, R. P. Sparks, George Higgerty, Andrew Haydon, G. C. Hurdman, M.L.A., T. B. Caldwell, Norman Reid, Wilfrid Ste. Marie, Nicholas Tremblay, E. P. McGrath, S. J. Edmondson, Napoleon Hurteau, A. J. Marshall, J. M. Walker, R. St. George, Frank Robert, Geo. Pouliot, Thos. Brethour, Dr. T. B. Davies, J. A. Pinard, M.L.A., Harold McCormick, John Martin, E. J. Labelle, Thomas Sheehan, Allan Fraser, Dr. I. G. Smith, Andrew Lascelle, Alfred Goulet, G. D. R. Milford, P. H. Murphy, M. J. O'Callaghan, Joseph Chenier, Moise Kingsley, Alfred Dalpe, Alphonse Raymond, M. N. Cummings, Martin O'Meara, A. Guilbault.

As it was essential to the success of the Convention that there would be constant co-operation between the National Committee and the Local Committee of Arrangements, it was deemed advisable to have a member of the former committee act as chairman of the Local Committee. Accordingly, Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P., was appointed chairman of the Local Committee. Mr. Andrew Haydon acted as its secretary.

Meetings of National Committee

There were several meetings of the National Committee, attended by Liberal Premiers and Cabinet Ministers from the different provinces. At these meetings, arrangements were made to secure provincial co-operation in carrying out the plan laid down for representation at the Convention. At the last of such meetings held prior to the prorogation of Parliament, it was decided that the National Committee would convene on July 31st, for a session of four days immediately preceding the Convention, so that all matters

MR. ANDREW HAYDON
The General Secretary,
who supervised all the details of
the Convention

relating to the Convention might then be finally revised and decided upon. It was further considered advisable to invite Liberal Associations and kindred organizations throughout the Dominion to send in resolutions, recommendations and suggestions with regard to the Party Platform, prior to the holding of the final meeting of the Committee. Accordingly, invitations to this end were issued from Ottawa. Besides these invitations, Chairman D. D. McKenzie also invited to the final meeting of the committee all the Liberal Senators and Members of Parliament, as well as the surviving Cabinet colleagues of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and other prominent Liberals throughout the country.

The Sub-Committees

To ensure that none of the innumerable details of the preparatory work would be overlooked, the Local Committee of Arrangements was divided into sub-committees, each of which had its own chairman and a special assignment of duties. These sub-committees were as follows:

Finance

E. A. Larmonth, *Chairman*
H. B. McGiverin
A. E. Provost
E. J. Daley
H. H. Horsey
A. C. Hardy
T. A. Low
Gordon C. Edwards
Norman F. Wilson

Publicity and Printing

Alexander Smith, *Chairman*
Damase Racine, M.L.A.
E. R. E. Chevrier
J. O. Herity
J. E. McGlade
R. Smith, K.C.
J. D. Pregent
R. P. Sparks

Transportation

George Higgerty, *Chairman*
Andrew Haydon
L. C. Hurdman, M.L.A.
Hon. G. P. Graham
T. B. Caldwell
Norman Reid
Wilfrid Ste. Marie
Nicholas Tremblay

Hotels and Housing

E. P. McGrath, *Chairman*
S. J. Edmondson
Napoleon Hurteau
A. J. Marshall
J. M. Walker
Geo. Higgerty

Hotels and Housing—*continued*

R. St. George
Frank Robert
Geo. Pouliot
Thos. Brethour
Dr. T. B. Davies

Halls and Decorations

J. A. Pinard, M.L.A., *Chairman*
Harold McCormick
John Martin
E. J. Labelle
Thomas Sheehan
Allan Fraser
Dr. I. G. Smith
Andrew Lascelle
Alfred Goulet
G. D. R. Milford
P. H. Murphy

Badges, Reception and Entertainment

G. C. Hurdman, M.L.A., *Chairman*
A. E. Provost
E. J. Daly
E. R. E. Chevrier
S. J. Edmondson
A. J. Marshall
J. M. Walker
M. J. O'Callaghan
Joseph Chenier
Moïse Kingsley
Alfred Dalpe
Alphonse Raymond
M. N. Cummings
Martin O'Meara
A. Guilbault

Meetings of the sub-committees were held at convenient intervals each week during the months of June and July, and, at least once in each week during these two months there was a meeting of the combined sub-committees, when reports were received from all of them, so that the rate of progress might be correctly estimated, and the possibility of overlapping be prevented. In this way, work was speeded up and mutual assistance was promoted throughout the ranks of the workers.

1,800 Certificates and Credentials

In accordance with the terms of the official call, and with the approval of the National Convention Committee, certificates of the election of delegates, and credentials for all the delegates, and alternate delegates, were prepared and distributed by the Local Committee.

The certificates were printed in English and in French (as was all the printed matter for the Convention), and they numbered approximately 1,800. There was a special form of certificate for Senators, Members of Parliament, Provincial Premiers, and others who were delegates ex-officio. The certificate for the delegates elected at the Local Conventions was in the following form:

NATIONAL LIBERAL CONVENTION

AUGUST 5th, 6th, 7th, 1919.

DELEGATES CERTIFICATE

Certificate of Election of Delegate.

DATE.....1919.

PLACE .....

DOMINION CONSTITUENCY OF.....

THIS CERTIFIES that at a Local Convention, duly called and held upon the date and at the place above mentioned,.....

whose P.O. address is....., was elected a delegate to the National Liberal Convention.

....

CHAIRMAN, LOCAL CONVENTION. SECRETARY, LOCAL CONVENTION.

NOTE:—This Certificate is to be filled in, signed by the Local Chairman and Secretary, and mailed to Andrew Haydon, General Secretary, National Liberal Convention, 44 Elgin Street, Ottawa, on or before June 30th, 1919.

With the addition of the word 'Alternate' the form of certificate for alternate delegates was similar to the above. Paper of different colors was used for the certificates for each group of delegates, so that identification and filing of the certificates might be simplified.

The 1,800 credentials for the delegates and alternate delegates which were issued by the general secretary only after he had received the certificates duly authenticated, were prepared, printed, and distributed in the same way as the certificates. All the credentials bore the signature and official seal of the general secretary and were in the following form:

NATIONAL LIBERAL CONVENTION

OTTAWA, AUGUST 5th, 6th, 7th, 1919.

No. 127

THIS CERTIFIES THAT.....

is entitled to attend the Convention as a.....for the constituency

of.....in the province of.....

Given under my hand and seal at Ottawa this.....

day of.....1919.

SEAL]

Geo. W. Haydon

GENERAL SECRETARY.

Pointers for Delegates

A booklet of 'Pointers and Directions for Delegates' was prepared and distributed in advance of the Convention. This booklet contained information about railway fares and tickets, and gave local directions for Ottawa and vicinity. In addition, it furnished a complete list of hotels, restaurants and rooming houses in Ottawa and Hull, with the address, accommodation and telephone number of each. About 2,000 copies of this booklet were sent out from the Convention office.

20,000 Pamphlets Issued

To inform public opinion, as well as to provide the delegates with accurate political knowledge that would be of practical assistance in discussing the party platform, four pamphlets were prepared and printed for distribution. The titles of these pamphlets were: 'The Tariff Record of the Liberal Party from 1893 to 1919,' 'The Double Game as Played by the Big Interests,' 'Two Dark Blots of Shame—The Conservative Franchise Act of 1885 and the War

Time Elections Act of 1917,' and 'Union is not Coalition.' There were 5,000 copies of each of these pamphlets printed, or 20,000 in all. Distribution was made throughout the Dominion and only a small number of these pamphlets remained on hand at the time of the Convention.

Other Publications

In preparation for the final deliberations of the National Committee, much valuable work was done by the Local Committee of Arrangements. For instance, all resolutions, recommendations and suggestions that had been sent in by associations and individuals were collected and printed on loose leaves, forming a book of 50 large pages. Five hundred copies of this book were distributed for reference and use, not only at the final sittings of the National Committee, but also at the sittings of the committees appointed by the Convention itself. In the same way, Parliamentary and other publications, dealing with the problems in which the returned soldiers are specially interested, were procured from various quarters, and several hundred copies of these publications were available for the sittings of the National Committee and the Convention Committees. A special pamphlet on Party Organization was prepared and published, and many hundred copies were distributed. This pamphlet on Party Organization proved to be of such interest, and it formed the basis of such important action afterwards that it is deemed advisable to reproduce it here in full.

"PARTY ORGANIZATION"

"A Memorandum designed to assist those who may discuss the"
"subject at the meetings of the National Liberal Committee prior"
"to the Convention, and, later, to be of use to the members of the"
"Special Committee appointed to consider and report upon the"
"question at the Convention itself."

"In the Official Call for the National Liberal Convention it is"
"stated that the second purpose for which the Convention is to be"
"held will be to deal with the question of Party Organization. The"
"importance of Party Organization was, therefore, present to the"
"minds of those who prepared the Official Call, and it should not oc-"
"cupy a lesser place in the minds of those who may be given an"
"opportunity to deal with the subject either as members of a com-"
"mittee or in the Convention as a whole."

"Briefly stated, the object of a party organization is to secure har-"
"monious co-operation between all the elements that go to make up"
"that party, so that its work at all times may be made effective in"
"the public interest, and its strength as a party be kept unimpaired."

"It is a matter of common knowledge that the Liberal party has"
"never had such an organization in Dominion affairs. Indeed, it has"
"rarely had such an organization in Provincial affairs, although"
"Liberal success in this or that province may, at times, have created"
"the impression that such success was due to organization on a general"
"scale. If the facts were examined, it would generally be found that"

"the popularity of a Provincial Government, or the weakness of its" "opponents, was more responsible for victory than the organization" "of the party which happened to be successful at the polls."

"At the present juncture the problem that presents itself for solution" "by the Liberals of the Dominion is the method that ought to be" "adopted to attain party solidarity and party effectiveness. Perhaps" "it may help to a more speedy and satisfactory solution of that" "problem if a few lessons were drawn from past experience."

"Prior to 1896, and for a short time afterwards, there was in the" "Province of Ontario an active and militant organization known as" "the Ontario Federation of Liberal Clubs. As expressed in its con-" "stitution, the Federation was 'a union of Liberal Clubs and Associ-" "ations for the advancement of the cause of good government and" "the encouragement of Canadian national spirit.' For the part its" "18,000 members played in helping to achieve the Liberal victory" "of June 23, 1896, the Federation received a special letter of thanks" "from Sir Wilfrid Laurier."

"The Federation held its last Convention at Toronto on March 30," "1901. Addressing the delegates there assembled on the subject of" "party organization, the then President spoke in the following terms:"

> "As free discussion is a fundamental principle of Liberalism, and as we have" "met to take counsel with each other upon all matters affecting the party's" "welfare in this province, this is the appropriate time and place to discuss the" "manner in which the Liberal party in Ontario is governed. In particular, we" "should try to ascertain whether the management of the party is such as to" "develop its full fighting strength upon occasions of political conflict, and" "whether at other times it is such as to keep the interest of individual Liberals" "constantly enlisted in the spread of Liberal doctrine and the development" "of Liberal views. So far as my observations extend there is no organization" "at present filling this dual position."
>
> "While party efficiency may be increased by the fact that this Federation" "has been given a voice in the affairs of the Ontario Liberal Association, it" "does not seem to me possible to command all the energies of provincial" "Liberalism unless organization of a more radical character be effected. Just" "as in our educational system there is an unbroken chain connecting the" "primary school with the university, so in a well-ordered party system should" "there be an unbroken chain linking the sub-division committee to the com-" "mittee having control of the provincial association. Experience proves that" "the body or association that will most successfully direct the Liberal party" "in Ontario is the one that will not only be representative of the Liberal" "directorate, *but will also, at all times, be in such close touch with the rank and*" "*file that the party's strength or weakness in any particular locality can never*" "*be a matter of doubt.*'"

"The Convention to which the words quoted were addressed was" "like the majority of such party gatherings. It preferred speeches" "to action. Nothing was done to give effect to the suggestions for a" "Provincial-wide getting-together. The Federation languished and" "eventually died. What later happened Liberalism in Ontario is" "written in our political annals. The question now is, do Liberals" "want to repeat this experience on a National scale? If they do not," "then the time is ripe for party organization on a National scale."

"In support of this latter assertion an energetic and far-seeing" "Liberal has in recent correspondence expressed himself as follows:"

> "'Sir Wilfrid was of the opinion that a great mistake had been made in the" "organization of the party during the years we were in power, that we had no"

"national organization of any kind looking to keeping the party organized" "and in line from coast to coast."

"'The value of such an organization would be threefold: First—It would" "serve as a link between the leaders of the party and the rank and file in the" "country. Second—It would serve as a unifying force looking towards com-" "mon action by all the different parts of the country in a given circumstance." "Third—It would enable the leaders of the party to have a continuous organ-" "ization that would not be subject to change because of the death of men here" "and there and because of defections. Possibly its most useful function would" "be to keep busy a lot of people who are anxious to be active and who because" "of lack of opportunity go sour and grow to feel that the party does not recog-" "nize them and does not appreciate them."

"'I am not disposed to agree with your view that such an organization" "should be arranged after the Convention. To be a truly national organization" "it should be brought into being by the National Convention, and I am in-" "clined to think that if we once have such an organization the fortunes of our" "party would be handled in a very much different way than they have in the" "past."

"'There is a further argument that seems to me to be paramount in this" "connection. The greatest danger from which this country suffers today is" "the lack of unity of thought and action, both provincial and from the stand-" "point of races. Such an organization would tend to prevent one province" "taking an extreme stand and solidifying against the rest of the country, such" "as we see today in connection with the tariff. This argument would apply" "also as regards race and creed questions, and, generally speaking, such an" "organization should promote unity in the party, and a spirit of harmony in" "the country, because it should result in a very much better understanding" "of the viewpoint of the different sections on these matters."

"'You, of course, know that both parties in the United States have a per-" "manent Executive of this kind; in fact, it is their prime basis of organization." "It gives the leader of the party an opportunity of enlarging the activities and" "securing the support of many men who otherwise would not be brought in" "contact with the work of the party except at a time of general election. I" "have always felt, and still think, that nothing so much contributed to our" "defeat in 1911 as the gap that had grown up between the leaders of the party" "and those in the rank and file.'"

"The need and the wisdom of party organization on a national" "scale being admitted, it remains only to consider the basis and the" "form of such a national body."

"If good business be good politics, it is submitted that to attain" "the objects for which it exists the Liberal party should be organized" "on the same basis as a joint stock company."

"Speaking generally, the basis of a joint stock company is made up" "of its capital, its board of directors and its general manager."

"By analogy the capital of the Liberal party is represented by its" "principles and its policy; its board of directors are the national leader" "and those associated with him in the direction and maintenance of" "the party, and its general manager would be the official engaged" "by the board of directors to act as general organizer, to carry out" "the board's instructions and generally to supervise the detail work" "of the party in all the provinces of the Dominion."

"Adopting such a basis for the national organization, its form" "might be as follows:"

"(*a*) A national president, who would always be the leader of the" "party."

"(*b*) Nine vice-presidents—one for each province."

"(*c*) A national council of fifty-four, to be appointed by the" "provinces, six from each."

"(*d*) A national organizer."

"The national president, the nine vice-presidents and the national" "council of fifty-four would be the governing body for the Dominion." "This body could, when necessary, appoint an executive committee," "or sub-committees, from among its members, to deal with special" "matters either of a temporary or a permanent character."

"Such a national organization should meet at Ottawa at least once" "a year, during the session of Parliament. If more frequent meetings" "are necessary, they could be called by the leader, who would be the" "national president under the plan above proposed."

"Each of the nine vice-presidents with the six members of the" "national council from his province should meet at least twice a year," "or oftener if summoned to do so by the national president."

"The work of the national organization should be concentrated in," "and directed from, a head office located at the national capital."

"The activities of the head office should be conducted under two" "branches, viz.: 'Organization' and 'Information.' Such a division" "of work is absolutely necessary if the desired results are to be at-" "tained and confusion and overlapping avoided."

"The Head Office"

"Neither the head office nor either of its branches would in the" "slightest degree supplant or in any way interfere with the organiz-" "ation work of any province, or of any parts of any province. The" "provincial method with its own arrangements worked out in its own" "way must prevail. Provincial rights in this respect must be absolute" "and must be carefully guarded; for it is the Liberal tradition. But" "unless there is a general clearing office, how can the party in Quebec," "for example, be brought into working agreement with the party in" "Alberta; or how can the Maritime Provinces with their own ideals" "and difficulties be brought into working communion with perhaps" "altogether different conditions in the Province of Ontario? It is" "because we do not know one another well enough day in and day" "out, and because we have no means of inter-communication of ideas," "other than the limited opportunity provided by the meeting of mem-" "bers of Parliament during Sessions of the House, that we fall out of" "touch with one another, and so we have, as is the fact to-day, faith-" "ful and zealous Liberals in western Canada persuaded by the wrong-" "ful and even lying stories of our enemies in the public press, charging" "that the old principles of the old Liberalism formerly flourishing" "have been swept away by eastern reaction. The proposed head" "office should be in touch with the work of every provincial associ-" "ation and of every provincial and sectional movement, and be in a" "position when storm clouds of difference and dissension appear on" "the horizon to set the sails for the weathering of the storm and for" "the guidance of a united national party into clearer air and open" "sunshine."

"The Organization Branch"

"In addition to the general work above outlined for the organization" "branch of the head office, it should be its duty also to see that party" "efficiency is constantly maintained through each of the provincial" "organizations. This would necessitate co-operation of the most" "sympathetic and continuous character, and the results would be" "both party and national unity. A further medium for attaining" "this end would be a series of annual meetings in each province, with" "an interchange of speakers arranged in advance by the organization" "branch. At these meetings Liberal principles and Liberal policy" "would be expounded by speakers from different provinces, and in" "this way Liberals of English speech would be enlightened as to the" "viewpoint of their French-speaking fellow-Liberals, and the people" "of the West and the people of the East would become acquainted as" "they otherwise never would."

"The Information Branch"

"At the present time there is a Liberal Information Bureau at" "Ottawa, which could form the nucleus of the information branch of" "the proposed head office. The existing Bureau has supplied inform-" "ation to members of the party throughout the country, dealt with" "the publication of campaign literature, compiled information for" "members of Parliament while the House was in session, as well as" "in the intervals between Sessions, and occasionally has dealt to some" "extent with the work of organization."

"In so far as this Bureau dealt with information much good work" "was done, but in so far as it attempted to deal with organization, it" "could not be said to be very successful. The work of organization" "belongs, as has been said, primarily to the provinces, and during the" "last few months an effort in Ontario at least has been made to re-" "store the work of organization in the provincial field. The present" "Bureau and its work as a gatherer of news, a compiler of information," "an investigation bureau critical of our opponents, and, on the" "positive side, of collecting real data concerning l ing questions that" "arise among the body of the people with the view of consolidating" "the ideas of our friends, enunciating the doctrines of Liberalism and" "providing lamps and sign-boards along the political highway by which" "the Liberal pilgrim can clearly distinguish his way, could be maintained," "enlarged, and made more efficient than it has been in the past, and" "operated in such a way that its results can be brought more clearly" "and generally before the minds of every Canadian."

"Its publications on the more general subjects should be practically" "standard works of their kind; and at election times they should," "while directly political and Liberal, be authoritative and informing," "and should offer to the political campaigner effective ammunition of" "the highest order."

"The National Organizer"

"Some Canadian should be found in Canada who would be placed" "in charge of the head office, and who, under the guidance of the" "party leader and his general group of advisers, would oversee and"

"direct both branches of the office, namely, Organization and In-"
"formation. His title might be that of National Organizer."

"Such a position is hard to fill. However, it should not be filled by"
"a 'good fellow' who is down on his luck; nor by a member of Parlia-"
"ment, nor by a defeated candidate, merely because he is a member"
"of Parliament or a defeated candidate. The head office of the"
"Liberal party of Canada is no place for a mere party pensioner."
"Misdirected party sympathy has in the past filled too many round"
"holes with square pegs."

"What kind of a man, then, ought the National Organizer to be?"
"He ought to be a man of education, of wide judgment of men; a"
"person of broad sympathy, one who knows and appreciates the value"
"of news; one who can take the attitude, for example, of a judge of"
"the Superior Court of any of our provinces, and therefore one who"
"will be just in his appreciation of men and things; who will not ally"
"himself with any group or section; who will have no personal friends"
"among politicians, and who will endeavor always to be on the side"
"of fairness; who will look upon Liberalism as a creed, and be ready"
"to advance its interests above those of any individual or locality,"
"believing at all times that the welfare of the great body of Canadian"
"people is advanced most truly in the advancement and success of"
"the Liberal cause. In addition to these personal qualifications, the"
"National Organizer should have had executive and organizing ex-"
"perience and be of proved capacity in both these fields."

"And where will such a man be found? Most likely in the employ-"
"ment of some individual, firm, or company, whose business is con-"
"ducted on intelligent and practical lines, and where the man in"
"question is in receipt of an annual salary of at least seven thousand"
"five hundred dollars ($7,500), and probably much more."

"Having located such a man, how could his services be secured for"
"the Liberal party? By paying him a larger annual salary than he is"
"now receiving and by guaranteeing him employment for a term of"
"years to be mutually agreed upon. In other words, by applying"
"business methods to politics."

"The Assistant Heads"

"It goes without saying that the heads of the organization and the"
"information branches should not only be competent men, but these"
"also should receive adequate compensation for their services. Such"
"employees, as well as those under them, can do effective work only"
"when they are free from financial worry. That leads to a consider-"
"ation of where the funds are to come from."

"Finance"

"If Liberalism is put on the basis of a creed, as it ought to be, the"
"cry that comes up from various sections of the Press throughout the"
"country for the publication of the party funds could have no longer"
"any force. A man should contribute money for the advancement"
"and success of his party just as he would for the necessities and ex-"
"tension of his church, and not, as has too often been the case in the"
"past, because he hopes to get something out of his party in the way"

"of money, or place, or position, as a return for party allegiance or"
"party work."

" Hence, in connection with the work of the head office, adequate"
"funds for salaries, travelling expenses, office rentals, help and"
"equipment should be provided on some permanent basis, based on"
"provincial contributions or assessments. This demands the ap-"
"pointment of a permanent committee on finance. This committee"
"should be composed of men who conscientiously believe that"
"'Political Liberalism' as enunciated by the great Liberals of"
"Canada and unfailingly throughout his long and distinguished"
"career by the great Chieftain, whose recent passing we all deplore,"
"is the basis for a reconstructed national life in this country. Men"
"of this stamp should have little difficulty in procuring the necessary"
"funds to carry on the organization and its work as briefly outlined"
"in this memorandum."

"The Future"

"Looking backward is easy. Looking ahead is much more difficult."
"And this National Convention of 1919 will also fail in its effect on"
"the future of the party if before its work is over it does not also"
"declare for certain elements of permanence by creating a permanent"
"organization on a national scale, by giving power to this organization"
"to replace those who resign, or who may become incapable, through"
"illness or otherwise, or whose services are lost by death, and by"
"providing for the recurrence of National Conventions, say every"
"five or six years, for the reconsideration and overhauling of all the"
"affairs of the Liberal party of Canada."

SPECIAL BALLOTS FOR VOTING

The procedure to be followed in the election of a leader for the Liberal Party by a popular Convention raised many questions, and one of them related to the form of ballot that should be used. There was no precedent in Canada to help solve the difficulty, and the method adopted by National Conventions in the United States, when nominating Presidential candidates, was not regarded as meeting the case that had to be dealt with. After many suggestions were considered and rejected, it was finally decided to print for the use of each delegate entitled to vote a book of ballots similar to a cheque book, containing 10 ballot papers, numbered from 1 to 10, inclusive, and detachable from stubs with corresponding numbers. In due course, 1,100 of such books were printed and held for distribution under the Rules for Voting that were later submitted to the National Committee and adopted without amendment. The use of the ballots this designed for the first political experiment of its kind in Canada contributed in no small measure to the orderly conduct of the voting at the Convention. In fact, so well, and so smoothly did all the arrangements for the voting work out, that, within one hour from the time the scrutineers began to collect the ballots in the Convention Hall, the votes had been counted and the report from the General Returning Officer as to the result of the balloting on the first vote was in the hands of the joint chairmen on the stage.

Description of Ballots

For the benefit of future Liberal Conventions, it may be well to include in this narrative a description in detail of the book of ballots supplied to each delegate who was entitled to vote at the National Convention of 1919.

The outside of the front cover of each book contained the title and a direction in the lower right hand corner, and on the inside of the front cover were printed instructions as to the manner of using the ballots and what to do in case a ballot was spoiled or the book lost. The following are reproductions of the two sides of the front cover of the book:

[Outside Front Cover]

OFFICIAL BALLOTS

National Liberal Convention

OTTAWA

August 5-6-7

1919

Read Instructions Inside

[Inside Front Cover]

INSTRUCTIONS

For the first vote use ballot marked 1, for the second use ballot marked 2, and so on for each succeeding vote.

Each delegate voting should write on the ballot *only the name of the person* for whom he (or she) votes.

A delegate must not write his (or her) name on a ballot.

If, when voting, a ballot is spoiled, another of a corresponding number may be obtained upon delivery of the spoiled ballot to Mr. Andrew Haydon, the General Secretary.

If a book is lost, the loss should be reported at once to the General Secretary, Mr. Andrew Haydon.

No vote will be counted unless written on an official ballot.

The back cover of each book was perforated like the ballot papers, and the detachable portion served as a receipt that was signed by the delegate receiving the book. The remaining stub served as a record to identify the detached receipt. The back cover of each book contained printing only on the outside, and was in the following form:

[Outside Back Cover]

BOOK No. 19

Received Book No. 19 containing Official Ballots numbered 1 to 10 for use at National Liberal Convention, 1919.

.....

Delegate

BOOK NO. 19

OFFICIAL BALLOTS

National Liberal Convention

1919

With the exception of the numbers, the 10 ballot papers in each book were alike. The following is a fac-simile of ballot Number 1:

Book No. 19

Stub

1

Tear off here

OFFICIAL BALLOT

National Liberal Convention

1919

1

.....

Use this for First Vote

It will be observed that the stub of the ballot, as well as the stub and receipt forming the back cover of the book, contain the book number. At first sight, this might suggest that the ballot could be identified and that voting by this method would not be secret. Such an impression would be erroneous, as the ballot paper itself did not bear any number by which it or the book from which it had been detached could be identified, and only the ballot was placed in the ballot box. In other words, each ballot numbered 1 was identical with all the other ballots bearing the same number that were used on the first vote, and identification of the voter was, therefore, impossible.

The Tally Sheets

In order that the ballots might be counted with accuracy and despatch, special tally sheets were designed on which to record the results of each vote. These tally sheets were in the following form:

HOW TO COUNT

One Teller will sort the ballots and call out the name of each candidate voted for.
Another Teller will fill in the Tellers' Sheet by marking an upright stroke, thus /, for each vote, and grouping these strokes in blocks of five, thus 𝍸, by a diagonal stroke for the fifth vote in each block. This method makes the final counting easy and rapid.

KEEP THIS SHEET

National Liberal Convention

August 5, 6, 7, 1919

TELLERS' SHEET FOR VOTE No. 1

NAMES OF CANDIDATES		TOTAL VOTE
	. . .	
	. . .	
	. . .	
	. . .	
	Tellers Sign Here:	

Final Sessions of National Committee

In response to the invitations sent out by the chairman of the National Committee, its final sessions at Ottawa, on July 31st, August 1st, 2nd and 4th, were attended by 150 representative Liberals from all the provinces of the Dominion. In addition to the members of the Committee, there were present Senators, Members and ex-Members of Parliament, Provincial Premiers, Provincial Cabinet Ministers, prominent business men and returned soldiers with distinguished military records, all of whom were animated by a common desire to assist in the solution of grave national questions at a time of general public unrest.

Having regard to the number and variety of the resolutions and suggestions that had been received, and in order to have the business of the Convention ready on time, special committees were appointed to study and discuss special subjects, and all the material that had been prepared and collected with reference to these subjects was handed over to these special committees. For instance, there was a special committee under the direction of Hon. H. S. Beland and Lt.-Col. J. L. Ralston, whose duty it was to study the questions in which the returned soldiers were interested, and all the members of this committee were furnished with copies of all legislation in any way affecting the soldiers as well as with copies of all resolutions passed by the G.W.V.A. and other military organizations interested in the soldiers' welfare. The same rule was followed in connection with all the subjects assigned to the other special committees. When these special committees had finished their labors, they made written reports on the merits of the subjects which they had studied and discussed, and, later, these reports furnished valuable information in concise form for the guidance and use of the committees appointed by the Convention to deal with the same subjects. In this way, duplication of work was avoided, and much valuable time was saved.

The agenda for the final sittings of the National Committee included two sets of rules—one to govern resolutions and their discussion at the Convention, and the other to govern the voting for the Party Leader. After adopting these two sets of rules, the committee decided to print them in the programme of business for the first day of the Convention. Another decision reached was to print programmes for each day of the Convention. In accordance with this decision, 1,800 copies of the programme for each day were printed and placed on the chairs of the delegates in the Convention Hall prior to the opening of each morning's session.

Where Convention Was Held

The Convention was held at Lansdowne Park, or, as it is also called, the Exhibition Grounds. These grounds are the property of the Corporation of Ottawa, through whose courtesy the Local Committee of Arrangements was granted the free use of all the buildings occupied for Convention purposes. The sessions of the Convention took place in a huge building known as "Howick Hall," and it was found to be admirably adapted to all the requirements of a great public gathering.

Some of the Arrangements

At the Bank Street entrance to the grounds, there was an Information Office, in charge of a staff able to speak English and French. A short distance away, in another building, there was a Registration Office, where the delegates signed the membership roll, received their badges,

and secured reduced fare railway tickets in exchange for their railway certificates. In a smaller building, close by, there was fitted up a check room for hats, coats and wearing apparel generally. Adjoining this building, was the office of the general secretary, where, in addition to Mr. Haydon's clerical staff, there were a corps of English and French stenographers, whose services were available for the convenience of the delegates throughout the Convention. In the rear of the building occupied by the general secretary, there was a large dormitory, fitted up with sleeping accommodation for 800 men. Directly across from this building, and separated from it by a double roadway and a wide sweep of lawn, was the Dining Hall, where 1,200 guests could be seated at the same time. Then, there was a Ladies' Rest Room, in charge of a matron and a staff of maids, and the building in which it was located also contained a Ladies' Dormitory, in case there would be overcrowding in the hotels and rooming houses of the city.

Inside Howick Hall

In Howick Hall the sittings of the Convention and the meetings of all the committees were held. Much time and labor were expended in arranging that all the business of the Convention might be done under the one roof.

The Convention Hall was in the front half of the building. The floor area where the delegates were seated was separated from the space reserved for spectators by a stout wooden barrier. Within this area, chairs were placed for 1,800 delegates and alternate delegates. These chairs were arranged in sections according to provinces. The location of each provincial delegation was designated by suspended cards bearing the names of the nine provinces and of the Yukon. At the easterly end of the Hall a stage 80 feet long and 35 feet wide was erected. The stage was decorated with masses of palms and foliage plants, and in the centre, at the rear, there was a large portrait of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, which, when illuminated at night, was so life-like as to rivet the gaze of every person in the Hall. The chairmen's table occupied the front centre of the stage, and, on either side, sat the English and French official reporters, and the assistant secretaries.

Directly in front of the stage was a space set apart for the press correspondents, and it was filled by the largest press contingent that ever attended a convention in Canada.

The Hall was a mass of streamers, bunting and flags, and the sides of the building were decorated by a succession of shields in beautiful colors, representing the different provinces. Each shield was surmounted by a cluster of small flags, artistically arranged, and the combined effect elicited general admiration.

Where The Committees Met

The rear half of Howick Hall was used for the working purposes of the Convention. The first floor on the same level as that of the Convention Hall was fitted up with 10 Committee Rooms—one for each of the 9 provinces, and one for the Yukon. Adjoining these committee rooms, was a large refreshment counter, a news stand and a barber shop. On the floor above these committee rooms, there was a press room, with working accommodation for 100 correspondents; a telegraph office, in which the several telegraph companies had their instruments and operators; and a room for the official reporters, in which their work was sup-

plemented by a mimeograph machine, which turned out hundreds of copies of resolutions, reports of committees, etc., with such speed that the press correspondents had a constant supply of these copies to incorporate in their reports and despatches by wire.

In addition to the other time-saving equipments, a complete telephone exchange was installed, with local and long distance connections; and, for the convenience, not only of the delegates, but also for that of the members of the various staffs engaged in different occupations connected with the work of the Convention, there were stationed in various parts of the building, and in the different committee rooms, messengers, page boys, door-keepers, ushers, and other necessary attendants. All the parts of the Convention machinery worked in perfect unison and completely justified the theory of the Local Committee of Arrangements that good business is good politics.

Press Congratulations

At the close of the Convention a unique event occurred. The press correspondents held a meeting and passed a resolution expressing their appreciation of the arrangements made for their comfort and convenience. The letter advising of this gracious act and the resolutions adopted were as follows:

HOUSE OF COMMONS, CANADA

Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P., *August 8th, 1919.*
c/o Murphy, Fisher & Sherwood,
Central Chambers, Elgin Street, Ottawa.

My dear Mr. Murphy:

I have much pleasure in forwarding to you copy of a resolution unanimously passed by the members of the Press Gallery and visiting newspaper men from all parts of the Dominion, on the evening of the close of the Convention. The resolution in question but faintly expresses the feeling of appreciation of every press man for the admirable arrangements made for their accomodation, and for the facilitation of their work, which was quite strenuous. Personally, I may say that at no other gathering of the kind (if there ever was one exactly of its kind) have I found such a willingness to accede to the requests of the press, and such a readiness to lighten their labors. Please accept my own hearty congratulations.

Faithfully yours,
(*Sd.*) H. E. M. Chisholm,
Secretary Press Gallery.

The Resolution

Moved by A. R. Ford, seconded by J. K. Munro, and unanimously carried:

"That the members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, and the special correspondents gathered from various parts of the Dominion, desire to express their high appreciation of the arrangements made for their accommodation at the National Liberal Convention, held at Howick Hall, Ottawa, on August 5, 6, 7, 1919, and to tender their thanks to Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P., Mr. Andrew Haydon, Mr. Alexander Smith, and others responsible for the arrangements in question. It is their desire further to state that every request for the facilitation of their work made by the press men during the Convention was promptly and courteously granted, and that, in every respect, press accommodation and facilities were admirable."

"It was Further Moved that the secretary be instructed to forward a copy of the Resolution to each of the gentlemen mentioned in the Resolution."

Thursday evening, August 7, 1919.

Deposit of Records

All the original records connected with the Convention have been deposited in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa. There, they will be available at all times for public inspection and information.

List of Delegates

The complete list of delegates who attended the Convention was as follows:

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Premier:—Hon. J. H. Bell.
Senators:—Hon. B. C. Prowse; Hon. J. Yeo.
Provincial Group:—J. McMillan; A. F. Bruce; C. H. Chandler; E. T. Higgs; J. J. Johnston; J. J. McNally; H. Nelson; A. C. Saunders.
Kings:—J. J. Hughes; L. McDonald; W. D. Whitehead; W. L. Pool; J. J. Ryan; W. Lemon; S. S. Hessian.
Prince:—Dr. J. F. McNeil; W. B. Tanton; B. Gallant, M.L.A.; F. L. Rogers; W. M. Lea; W. P. Calloghan.
Queen's:—J. E. Sinclair, M.P.; Hon. W. B. Warburton; Dr. J. F. Martin; J. H. Cummiskey; G. E. Hughes; J. J. MacLeod; D. T. Riley; B. Rogers; I. T. Yeo, M.D.; C. J. Duffy; G. Forbes; A. McPhee; J. G. Toombs, M.D.; D. N. McKay.
President Provincial Liberal Association:—N. Rattenbury.

NOVA SCOTIA

Premier:—Hon. G. H. Murray.
Senators:—Hon. E M. Farrell; Hon. L. G. Power; Hon. W. Roche.
Provincial Group:—Hon. R. M. McGregor; Hon. R. E. Finn; R. Irwin; J. L. Connolly, M.P.P.; J. C. Tory, M.P.P.; D. A. Cameron, M.P.P.; J. J. Vinley, M.P.P.; F. R. Elliott, M.P.P.; W. J. Gillies; J. W. Smith; J. H. Livingstone.
Antigonish and Guysborough:—J. H. Sinclair, M.P.; C. F. McIsaac; W. Chisholm; Dr. J. S. Brean; C. W. Anderson; A. S. McMillan; J. L. McIsaac.
Cape Breton North and Victoria:—D. D. McKenzie, M.P.; A. K. McKenzie; R. Musgrove; D. G. McDonald; C. W. K. McCurdy; Luke Daye; T. F. Burke.
Cape Breton South and Richmond:—W. F. Carroll; G. W. Kyte; A. B. McGillivray; A. Y. McDonald; Major M. H. Morrison; C. McKenzie; E. C. Doyle; Hon. H. C. V. Livatte; W. Crowe, K.C.; D. A. McLeod; R. H. McNeil; A. E. Sampson; A. E. Morrison; Dr. J. C. Morrison.
Colchester:—W. D. Hill; H. C. McKay; K. R. MacLean; G. R. Marshall; Chas. Hill; R. Starrett.
Cumberland:—H. J. Logan; J. A. Hanway; J. B. Moss; R. S. Carter, M.P.P.; Mrs. D. C. Allen; G. N. Allen; B. L. Tucker.
Digby and Annapolis:—L. J. Lovett; H. B. Hicks; Dr. A. F. Hogan; W. G. Clarke; G. N. Reagh; L. Stehelin; F. H. Willett.
Halifax:—H. A. Russell; C. C. Blackador; D. T. Leslie; W. R. Wakeley; Lt.-Col. D. S. Bauld; J. Murphy; H. A. Russell; R. W. Hendry; G. Farnell; C. P. Wood; G. A. Redmond; Dr. A. C. Hawkins.
Hants:—L. H. Martell; A. M. Anthony; Dr. J. B. Black; F. T. Pugsley; B. B. Fulmer; Dr. J. W. Reid, M.P.P.; Capt. G. McElhiney.
Inverness:—Dr. A. W. Chisholm; J. C. Bourinot; D. McLennan; D. McLean; J. E. Proudfoot.
King's:—J. Sealy; Dr. A. M. Covert; Col. A. Borden; W. W. Pineo; J. W. Wilton; W. B. Hairis; Hon. H. H. Wickwire.
Lunenburg:—W. Duff, M.P.; C. U. Mader; J. D. McKenzie; A. Sperry; G. Cole; G. Romkey; A. F. Davison.
Pictou:—R. H. MacKay; J. A. Fraser; Miss C. Carmichael; E. M. MacDonald; W. G. Rundle; G. W. Thompson; G. W. Whitman.
Shelburne and Queen's:—Hon. W. S. Fielding; A. W. Hendry; H. R. L. Bill; J. Hood; A. N. Mack; F. L. Christie; M. A. Nickerson.
Yarmouth and Clare:—Joseph Comeau; Hon. E. H. Armstrong; H. T. D'Entremont, M.P.P.; A. H. Comeau; J. D. Kirk; H. S. LeBlanc; E. L. Comeau.
Provincial Liberal Association:—President, J. B. Douglas.

NEW BRUNSWICK

Premier:—Hon. W. E. Foster.
Senators:—Lt. Col. J. Domville; Hon. G. G. King; Hon. P. McSweeney; Hon. F. P. Thompson; Hon. I. Todd.
Provincial Group:—R. Murray; C. W. Robinson; L. A. Dugal; F. J. Sweeney; A. A. Dysart; A. T. LeBlanc; G. W. Upham; E. S. Carter; P. J. Hughes; J. E. Hetherington; J. F. Tweeddale; R. V. Smith.
Charlotte:—W. Todd; D. P. Gillmar; G. M. Byron; H. Balkam; Dr. A. D. Dyas; B. M. Hill; H. W. Mann.

Gloucester:—O. Turgeon, M.P.; P. J. Veniot; S. R. Leger; J. G. Robichaud; B. C. Mullins; W. Branch; J. P. Byrne.

Kent:—A. T. Leger, M.P.; A. E. Bourgeois; C. Atkinson; L. P. A. Robichaud; D. Leger; I. Melonson; J. D. Irving.

Northumberland:—J. Morrisay; D. V. Allain; J. Robinson; D. P. Sullivan; A. M. Arseneau; Dr. Ryan; W. B. Snowball.

Restigouche and Madawaska:—P. Michaud, M.P.; J. A. Reid; F. M. Anderson; B. R. Violette; J. Duncan; A. C. Leveque; Dr. P. H. Laporte.

Royal:—G. H. King; G. H. Adair; E. T. Harmer; R. R. Reid; J. S. Robinson; S. I. Keith; T. Gilliland.

St. John City and Counties of St. John and Albert:—W. P. Broderick; A. F. Emery; F. M. Thompson; J. W. Steeves; J. W. Lewis; E. J. Henneberry; J. A. Barry; W. E. Scully; J. L. O'Brien; S. S. Ryan; H. N. Coates; G. H. Allan; A. F. Bentley; C. A. Owens; James Buyers; T. W. Griffin; Jas. E. Porter; Jno. N. Fleming.

Westmoreland:—A. B. Copp, M.P.; L. Stockton; F. L. Estabrooke; A. T. LeBlanc; Reid McManus; Fred Magee; S. Melanson.

York-Sunbury:—N. W. Brown; P. J. Hughes; D. W. Mersereau; C. Goodspeed; W. J. Osborn; R. B. Smith, M.L.A.; W. Fawcett.

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

Premie :—Sir Lomer Gouin.

Senators—Hon. F. L. Beique; Hon. A. Boyer; Hon. J. P. B. Casgrain; Hon. P. A Choquette; Hon. H. J. Cloran; Hon. R. Dandurand; Hon. L. O. David Hon. G. C. Desaulles; Hon. J. Godbout; Hon. L. Lavergne; Hon. J. H. Le gris; Hon. W. Mitchell; Hon. J. Tessier; Hon. J. M. Wilson.

Provincial Group:—Hon. W. G. Mitchell; Hon. H. Mercier; Hon. J. A. Tessier; Hon. N. Seguin; Hon. A. David; P. Bercovitch; Dr. B. A. Conroy; J. S. A. Ashby; W. S. Bullock; M. W. Reed; J. E. Robert; H. Pilon; I. Vautrin; A. M. Tessier; F. J. Bugeaud; Hon. J. E. Caron; Hon. L. A. Taschereau; L. A. Cannon; L. Letourneau; Rodolphe Fourville; J. N. Francoeur.

Argenteuil:—P. R. McGibbon, M.P.; W. D. Graham; J. Hay; G. Dansereau; D. Black; T. Dallaire, Sr.; L. L. Legault.

Bagot:—J. E. Marcile, M.P.; L. Archambault, M.D.; E. St-Pierre; J. E. Phaneuf, M.P.P.; A. Lefebre; M. Desmarais; W. Hotte.

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Dauphin:—F. E. Simpson; Dr. Shortreed; Louis Poulin.
Lisgar:—Dr. R. D. Ferguson; W. H. Trueman; H. B. Brown; A. Dubuc; Mrs. Margaret Mills.
MacDonald:—W. H. Walsh; C. Laundry; H. McKenzie; D. Phillip; J. P. Dumas; J. F. Fisher.
Marquette:—F. C. Hamilton; Francis Simpson; Lewis St. Geo. Stubbs.
Neepawa:—A. Dunlop; P. Broadfoot; J. Cowie; R. C. Campbell; D. Smith; W. Cairns.
Nelsan:—J. O. Lewis; Arthur Larose.
Portage La Prairie:—F. Shirtliff; W. H. Rennie.
Provencher:—Dr. J. P. Molloy; E. Hebert; A. Waddell; A. Ayotte; R. G. Mills; C. Catellier; J. Connier.
Selkirk:—J. E. Adamson; G. G. Serkan; J. H. Gunn; W. Montgomery; J. B. Solmundson; W. C. McKinnell; F. Hooker.
Souris:—T. H. Buck; R. Sterling; S. K. Colquhoun; B. Dumorest.
Springfield:—G. J. Charette; M. Beaudry; Bannerman; Geo. A. Duisy; A. J. Gamache.
Winnipeg Centre:—R. S. Ward; Dr. Seg. Jul. Johannesson; Dr. C. J. Jamieson; Mrs. H. Armstrong.
Winnipeg Narth:—R. A. Rigg.
Winnipeg South:—N. T. MacMillan; John A. Knott; Dr. Rumbough; Horace Chevrier.
President Manitaba Liberal Association:—A. McLeod.

PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN

Premier:—W. M. Martin.
Senatars:—Hon. J. M. Douglas; Hon. B. Prince; Hon. J. H. Ross;
Pravincial Group:—Hon. W. R. Motherwell; Hon. Geo. Langley; R. J. Gordon; J. G. Gardiner; A. J. Hindle; M. L. Leitch; W. F. Turgeon; C. McDonald; R. A. Magee; M. Cameron; A. D. Pickel; B. Lanson; J. A. MacMillan; E. S. Clinch; A. Hermonson; W. H. Paulson; R. Forsyth.
Assinibaia:—E. Waddington; W. E. Harris; H. McLeod.
Battlefard:—W. G. A. Gourlay; A. Champagne; D. A. McKinnon; F. G. Atkinson; J. D. McKercher; R. E. Nay; R. H. Speers.
Humbaldt:—J. L. Barry; G. A. Gilbert; F. I. Houser; A. A. Fraser; T. A. Hart; D. W. Neely; C. P. Peterson.
Kindersley:—H. A. P. McNal; D. C. Hutchon; T. M. McEwan; T. A. Mitchell; W. Richardson; W. A. Dungwall; J. A. Dowd; C. A. Henderson.
Last Mauntain:—J. Fred Johnston; J. M. Parker; S. J. Lotta; Dr. T. Waugh; J. A. Watson; Hon. W. Scott; Dr. Hotham.
Mackenzie:—G. W. McPhee; Mrs. H. P. A. Hermanson; Norman MacKay; J. K. Johnson.
Maple Creek:—Dr. T. F. Donnelly; A. J. Colquhoun; Isaac Sterling; J. T. Pickett.
Maase Jaw:—Wm. Fred Dunn; T. E. Gambel; Hon. C. A. Dunning; Hon. W. E. Knowles; D. M. Craig; W. E. Dennison; H. N. Gross.
Narth Battlefard:—C. Comerford; J. O. Nolin; S. E. McManus; A. B. Gemmell; D. M. Finlayson; L. Foster; W. B. Cumerford.
Prince Albert:—S. McLeod; W. H. S. Gange; W. B. Baskford; J. R. Graham; F. D. Cherry; Dr. J. Ulrich; Iva Monsees.
Qu'Appelle:—A. Hamilton.
Regina:—A. MacBeth; Hon. W. Scott; W. J. Vancise; C. H. Palmer; E. S. Miller; Mr. McGillivray; W. B. Watkins.
Saltcoats:—J. Rowan; Mr. Shields; Rev. Dr. Bayne; Dr. H. H. Christie; H. W. Lindsay; D. McKinnon; A. Lopstone.
Saskataan.—J. W. Casey; C. G. Locke; L. V. Locker; Mrs. G. W. McPhee; F. F. McDermid; A. B. Crane; W. P. Smith.
Swift Current:—M. J. Reilly; D. Buckles; Dr. Jessop; E. Gravel; J. F. Fink; A. Buko; S. Bonneau.
Weyburn:—J. McKechnie; C. M. Hamilton; Jas. Smith; H. N. Morphy, K.C.; E. J. Young; W. J. Jolly.

PROVINCE OF ALBERTA

Premie :—Hon. Chas. Stewart.
Senators:—Hon. L. G. deVeber; Hon. A. E. Forget; Hon. J. W. Farmer; Hon. P. Talbot.

Provincial Group:—J. R. Boyle; Duncan Marshall; Geo. P. Smith; J. S. Coté; Fred Duncan; Wilfrid Gariepy; J. C. McColl; Jas. McCallum; R. B. Eaton; A. Ross; A. J. Walker; Chas. Rae; Lucien Boudreau.
Battle River:—D. W. Warner; A. H. Mann.
Bow River:—D. M. LeBourdais; H. W. Reeves; Dr. Crawford; M. Turnbull; J. P. McBeath; W. W. Brown.
Calgary East:—W. Irvine; O. E. Culbert; A. Allan; G. H. Ross; T. J. Costello; S. G. Munns; Miss A. L. Jackson.
Calgary West:—J. A. Irvine; J. E. Varley; G. M. Thompson; Dr. T. A. Wright; Selwood; E. Ryan; T. Maloney.
Edmonton East:—A. E. May; F. Faulknet; G. A. Wilkinson; A. R. McLennan; A. Mills; W. Smith; K. A. Blackford.
Edmonton West:—Hon. F. Oliver; Mrs. W. D. McDonald; W. A. Rae; W. Rae; A. McDonell; F. Smith; G. B. O'Connor; T. Hutcheson.
Lethbridge:—L. L. Pack; J. E. Lovering; L. S. DeVeber; G. A. Hacking; R. W. Pilling; C. Egan; T. O'Brien.
MacLeod:—D. R. McIvor; Wm. Levington; R. A. Dalahunty; J. Gilles; A. F. Grady; Dr. J. Oliver; D. Reilly.
Medicine Hat:—C. B. Reilly; E. Holeman; Thos. Bell; R. M. Henderson; L. N. Laidlaw; G. M. Thompson; C. A. Brady.
Red Deer:—W. F. Puffer; C. A. Bertrand; A. D. MacKenzie; Thos. McKercher.
Strathcona:—L. E. Barclay; James A. McKinnon; W. H. Odell; E. Hinkley; R. S. Cook; S. G. Tobin; Chs. Grant.
Victoria:—W. H. White; R. C. F. Connolly; J. J. Stanton; C. Gordon.
President Provincial Liberal Association:—Dr. Wm. Egbert.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Premier:—Hon. J. Oliver.
Senator:—Hon. H. Bostock.
Provincial Group:—J. S. Cooper; Dr. Southerland; F. Mobley; M. A. MacDonald, J. H. King; John Keen.
Burrard:—P. Donnelly; W. G. Anderson; A. B. Buckworth; T. J. Kearney; J. Lamb; C. B. Patterson; R. R. Earle, K.C.
Caribou:—R. F. Leighton; W. B. Fanns.
Comox-Alberni:—W. W. B. McInnes; Geo. E. Powell; Peter L. Bancroft; Mrs. T. J. Kearney.
Kootenay East:—R. E. Beattie; C. D. McNab; G. Hunter; Mrs. F. B. Miles; J. F. Guimont; A. A. MacNeil; C. E. Stockdale.
Kootenay West:—W. Maxwell; Alex. McRae; Robert Smillie; B. B. Mills.
Nanaimo:—H. A. Stewart.
New Westminster:—D. A. McRae; Dr. T. B. Green; E. Goulet.
Skeena:—A. Stork; Wm. McAdam; L. W. Patmore; G. W. Nickerson; F. Dawson; J. G. Steen; F. H. Mobley. G.
Vancouver Centre:—W. W. B. McInnes; E. S. Knowlton; Chs. E. Campbell; J. Conley; J. H. Falconer; Dr. P. A. McLennan; Mrs. J. N. Menzies.
Vancouver South:—Charles Macdonald; Capt. W. F. Stewart; M. F. Burnett; F. R. Russell; Mrs. J. Jackson; J. F. J. Cashman; F. L. Cummings.
Victoria City:—Stewart Henderson; W. M. Ivel; Dr. L. Hall; Mrs. S. Henderson; J. Murray; H. Norman.
Westminster District:—P. B. H. Ramsey; Donald Downie; C. B. Patterson; Mrs. D. Downie; J. A. Brunet.
Yale:—L. V. Rogers; G. Mickleborough; C. Meggitt; J. W. Hayward; Dr H. McGregor; Dr. W. L. Ritchie.

YUKON TERRITORY

F. T. Congdon; J. A. Campbell; R. C. Miller.

MEMBERS OF THE KING'S PRIVY COUNCIL FOR THE DOMINION OF CANADA

Hon. Sydney Fisher; Hon. Sir Allen B. Aylesworth, K.C.M.G.; Hon. George P. Graham.

OFFICIAL REPORT
OF
PROCEEDINGS

HOWICK PAVILION

The Building in which the Convention was held

National Liberal Convention

PROGRAMME

Tuesday, August 5th, 1919, 10.30 a.m.

OPENING OF CONVENTION

1. Song—The National Anthem - - - Mr. Geo. Aldcroft
   The G. G. F. G. Band
2. Song—"O Canada" - - - - - - - Mr. E. Poulette
   The G. G. F. G. Band
3. Nomination by D. D. McKenzie, Esq., of the Senior Provincial Premiers, Hon. G. H. Murray and Sir Lomer Gouin, as Joint Chairmen of the Convention, and of the Provincial Premiers and the Ontario Liberal Leader as Vice-Chairmen.
4. Nomination by D. D. McKenzie, Esq., of D. C. Ross, M.P., and Lucien Pacaud, M.P., as Assistant Secretaries of the Convention.
5. Invitation by the Chairmen to all Privy Councillors, Senators, Members of Parliament, the Provincial Prime Ministers, and the Provincial Liberal Leader of Ontario to take seats on the platform.
6. Civic Address of Welcome.—The Mayor of Ottawa.
7. Moving of Resolution with reference to the death of the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, P.C., G.C.M.G.
8. Announcements by the Chairmen as follows:
   (*a*) The appointment of a Credentials Committee of 19 members, of whom two will be selected by the delegates from each Province and one from the Yukon.
   (*b*) The appointment of a Committee on Party Organization, consisting of 19 members, of whom two will be selected by the delegates from each Province and one from the Yukon.
   (*c*) The appointment of a Resolutions Committee of 110 members, who shall be selected by the Provinces in the following proportions:

Alberta	8
British Columbia	8
Manitoba	8
New Brunswick	8
Nova Scotia	8
Ontario	28
Prince Edward Island	8
Quebec	25
Saskatchewan	8
Yukon	1

   (*d*) The appointment of a Striking Committee to nominate any other Committee that it may later be deemed necessary to appoint. Such Striking Committee to consist of 19 members, of whom two shall be selected by each Province and one by the Yukon.
   (*e*) The appointment by each Province of a Chairman and a Secretary, who will be the special representatives of their respective Provinces in all matters requiring Provincial action during the Convention.

(*f*) The appointment by the Provinces of 31 scrutineers and 46 tellers, divided among the Provinces as follows:

SCRUTINEERS

Alberta	3
British Columbia	3
Manitoba	3
New Brunswick	2
Nova Scotia	2
Ontario	6
Prince Edward Island	2
Quebec	6
Saskatchewan	3
Yukon	1

TELLERS

Alberta	5
British Columbia	5
Manitoba	5
New Brunswick	5
Nova Scotia	5
Ontario	5
Prince Edward Island	5
Quebec	5
Saskatchewan	5
Yukon	1

9. Announcement by the Chairmen that the delegates will retire to their several Provincial Committee rooms and make the selections from each Province of the representatives on the several committees to be appointed, after they have heard addresses from the representatives selected to address them by the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, the Proportional Representation Society, and the Grand Army of Canada, each of whom will be limited to twenty minutes.

   And the further announcement by the Chairmen that when the Convention adjourns at one o'clock, it will stand adjourned until four o'clock this afternoon, in order to allow the Provinces to meet in their respective Committee Rooms at 2.30 p.m. to select their representatives on each of the Committees mentioned and prepare a report from each in writing, which will be handed to the Chairmen of the Convention before the sittings are resumed at 4 p.m.
10. Addresses of 20 minutes each, by one representative from each of the following organizations:
    The Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees.
    The Proportional Representation Society.
    The Grand Army of Canada.

Tuesday Afternoon, August 5th, 4 p.m.

11. Receiving written reports from Provinces of selections made by them for membership on the different Committees and reading same by the Chairmen.
12. Reading of Rules to govern Resolutions and their discussion.
13. Reading of Rules to govern Voting.
14. Committees to retire, elect chairmen, and begin their work. Speeches to be arranged for remainder of afternoon and evening by Convention Chairmen and Secretaries.

Rules Governing Resolutions and Their Discussion

All resolutions shall be in the hands of the General Secretary of the Convention before 6 p.m. of Tuesday, August 5th, and they shall then be submitted to the Resolutions Committee, which shall have authority to accept, reject or amend the same.

Resolutions accepted or amended will be reported to the Convention by the Chairmen of the Resolutions Committee.

Any person proposing a resolution which has been rejected by the Committee may, after all the resolutions reported to the Convention by the Resolutions Committee have been disposed of, appeal to the Convention for permission to introduce the resolution, notwithstanding its rejection by the Committee. In such case, the Chairman of the Convention shall explain briefly the subject matter of the resolution, and put the question as to whether or not the decision of the Committee shall be sustained. There shall be no debate on the question, and if the Committee's decision in rejecting the resolution is sustained by the Convention, the incident is closed. If the Convention decides to consider the resolution, the resolution will be open to discussion.

In speaking to resolutions, the following time shall be allotted to the speakers:

To the Mover, 15 minutes.

To other speakers, 10 minutes, with power to the Chairman to limit the time to 5 minutes when the discussion has proceeded for a considerable length of time.

Rules to Govern the Voting for the Party Leader

1. The Vote shall be taken by Ballot. The Official Ballots will be distributed on the morning of the day upon which the vote is to be taken.
2. Nominations for candidates for the Leadership shall be made in writing by delegates present at the Convention and may be handed to the General Secretary at any time previous to the hour appointed for taking the vote.
3. The Chairman will read out from the Stage the names of the candidates so nominated and will afford those desiring to withdraw before a vote is taken an opportunity to do so.
4. Those withdrawing will merely announce the fact without making a speech in favor of, or in opposition to, any of the other Candidates.
5. Only one person may be voted for on each Ballot. The name of the person so voted for shall be legibly written on the Ballot by the delegate voting.
6. The result of each vote shall be announced by the Chairman.
7. Any candidate nominated may withdraw his name at any time before a final choice is made, and in such case the Chairman shall announce the withdrawal to the Convention.
8. The balloting shall continue until a candidate receives a majority of the total ballots cast, and thereupon he shall be declared elected. Provided, however, that if no choice is made on the fourth balloting the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes on the fifth and succeeding ballots shall drop out of the contests.
9. The Delegates will remain in their seats and deposit their ballots in ballot boxes provided for the purpose. The said boxes will be in charge of scrutineers appointed by the delegates from each Pro-

vince for the purpose of collecting the ballots and conveying the boxes containing them to a room in the rear of the Convention where the votes will be counted.

10. Prior to the voting the Delegates from each Province will meet in their respective Committee Rooms and appoint Scrutineers to collect the ballots and Tellers to count them, in the following number:

SCRUTINEERS

Alberta	3
British Columbia	3
Manitoba	3
New Brunswick	2
Nova Scotia	2
Ontario	6
Prince Edward Island	2
Quebec	6
Saskatchewan	3
Yukon	1

TELLERS

Alberta	5
British Columbia	5
Manitoba	5
New Brunswick	5
Nova Scotia	5
Ontario	5
Prince Edward Island	5
Quebec	5
Saskatchewan	5
Yukon	1

11. The General Secretary, Mr. Andrew Haydon, will act as Returning Officer and will supervise the counting of the votes and make a written report of the result in each instance to the Chairman of the Convention.

Tuesday, August 5th, 1919

MORNING SESSION

The Convention was called to order at 10.30 a.m.—Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P., Chairman of the Local Committee of Arrangements, in the Chair.

HON. MR. MURPHY: Ladies and Gentlemen, if you will look at your watches, you will see that it is 10.30 o'clock. As Chairman of the Local Committee of Arrangements, I may mention that it has been the custom of that Committee to do things on time. It has been announced in the public press, and in the programmes, which you will find on your seats, that this Convention is to open at 10.30 this morning. That hour having arrived, I now declare this Convention open.

As Chairman of the Local Committee, it is my privilege to introduce the gentlemen who will lead the singing of the National Anthem, and "O, Canada."

The National Anthem and "O, Canada" were then sung to the accompaniment of the Governor-General's Foot Guards Band.

HON. MR. MURPHY: I have now the honor to present to you Mr. D. D. McKenzie, Parliamentary Chief of the Liberal Party.

NOMINATION OF JOINT CHAIRMEN

MR. D. D. MCKENZIE: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I rather fear that I shall not be able to make myself heard at the back of the hall. However, as this is only the beginning of the Convention, and as I must necessarily try to preserve my voice, I must not strain it too much.

My duty this morning is of a very simple character indeed. The Convention has been duly opened by Hon. Mr. Murphy; and it is due to him that I should say at this stage that too much praise cannot be given or too great credit ascribed to Mr. Murphy for his services in connection with this Convention.

Like the good people of Israel of old, it might be asked of me, "What meaneth these things?" Why are we here, and by what authority? We are here, Mr. Chairman, on the authority of the last will and testament of the Great Chieftain who devised this Convention. During the last months of the life of the great statesman who has passed away, he arranged for this Convention; the arrangement was unanimously agreed to by the people of Canada at the time, and after the great chieftain had passed away it was decided that the arrangement should, as far as possible, be carried out to the letter. The representatives of the Liberal party in Canada, therefore, are here to carry out what was the will, the wish, and the desire of the great chieftain who has gone before.

In 1893, a similar gathering was held, and many who are present here to-day were present then. We are all pleased to bear testimony to the fact that magnificent results followed the Convention of 1893. There was need for great results in 1893; there is need to-day for great results to follow this Convention. There are some people in this country who are questioning our right to be here. There were some people in ancient days who questioned the right of the Lord to heal on the Sabbath day. Their ideas did not prevail; nor will such ideas prevail against the authority of this Convention.

I have now the great pleasure and great satisfaction of moving that two distinguished gentlemen, two distinguished Canadians, who have been honored for many years as premiers of their respective provinces, be joint chairmen of this great gathering of Canadians. I have the honor to nominate as Joint Chairmen the Hon. George H. Murray, Premier of Nova Scotia, and a no less distinguished son of Quebec, the Hon. Sir Lomer Gouin, Premier of Quebec. I am sure it is the unanimous wish of this great and magnificent gathering that these two distinguished sons of Canada should take the Chair and preside at the meeting. Perhaps it would be as well to take a standing vote; the motion will be put by my good friend, the acting chairman.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: It is proposed by Mr. McKenzie, seconded by the audience, that the Hon. G. H. Murray, Premier of Nova Scotia, and Sir Lomer Gouin, Premier of Quebec, be Joint Chairmen of this Convention.

Il est proposé par M. McKenzie, secondé par tous ceux qui sont présents ici, que l'honorable George H. Murray et Sir Lomer Gouin soient les présidents de cette Convention.

The nomination of Hon. George H. Murray and Sir Lomer Gouin as Joint Chairmen of the Convention was approved by a standing vote.

Hon. Mr. Murray took his seat as Chairman.

Mr. D. D. McKenzie: If Sir Lomer Gouin is here I trust he will come forward and take his place as one of the Chairmen.

Hon. George H. Murray (Premier of Nova Scotia): Ladies and gentlemen, I desire to thank you for this great honor; I regard it not only as a personal honor but as an honor to the province which I represent. I am proud to be associated on this occasion with Sir Lomer Gouin, who represents the great province of Quebec. Sir Lomer has given in that great province some evidence of what a Liberal government can accom-

plish; indeed, both Quebec and Nova Scotia in their day and generation have, I think, stood the test in respect to what true Liberalism means. Sir Lomer is representative of the great French race; I am a humble member of the Scotch race; surely we should be able to discharge satisfactorily our modest duties as Joint Chairmen of this great Convention.

I desire to congratulate the Liberals of Canada upon this great gathering, the greatest political convention which has ever taken place in the history of this country. We must not forget that we meet here as Canadians, and our common country, Canada, should be our first consideration. If we, as Liberals and as Canadians, have for our first consideration the good of the Canadian people as a whole, we shall do what is best to perpetuate Liberalism in the hearts of our countrymen.

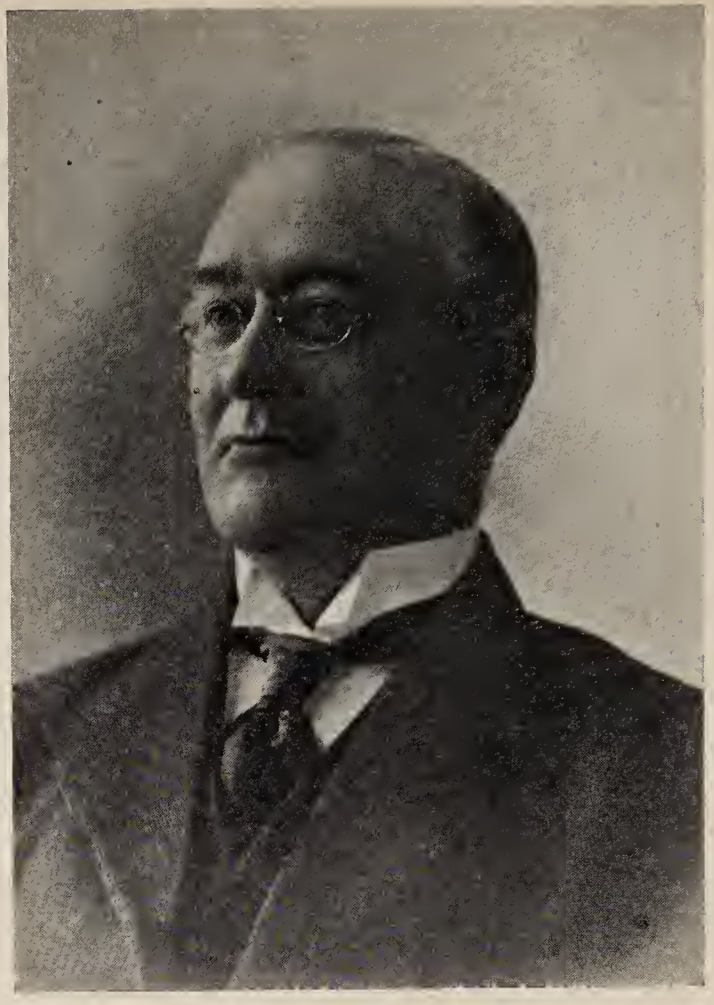
Like Mr. McKenzie, I remember well the first Liberal Convention which took place in this country twenty-six years ago. I was a younger man then and, perhaps, had more energy and more enthusiasm. But quite a different situation confronts the Liberal party to-day. On that occasion we had as our leader the gentleman whose portrait you see behind me, a gentleman who was a world statesman and who had behind him the affection and admiration of the entire Liberal party from the Pacific to the Atlantic. He has passed away, and as I looked into the faces of those who comprise this audience, I could not help feeling how pleased he would be if he could see this striking evidence of the vitality of the Liberalism of Canada. How pleased we all would be if we could once more hear from his eloquent lips those words of wisdom and courage which he always addressed in dealing with the problems of his country.

I remember the great men who attended that first Convention—men from Ontario, from Quebec, from the great West and from the Maritime Provinces. I have sometimes thought as I saw these leaders pass away, whether within the ranks of the Liberal party we had men who could replace them. I see the answer in the faces of those who comprise this audience to-day; we have men who can replace these leaders. But, remember, for eighteen long years, from 1878 to 1896, these men fought with a sincerity and courage which the Liberal party cannot forget. They fought for great principles, these old leaders of the Liberal party; they fought for privileges which we enjoy to-day and which they left us as a heritage.

There are a great many matters to which this Convention will have to give consideration. There are some things upon which we can agree; there are some things, no doubt, upon which we shall disagree. But we can agree, in my judgment, that Union Government has lost its usefulness in this country. We can agree that whatever justification that Government had for existence during a time of war and stress, now, under normal conditions, it is better—better for public opinion, better for efficient and proper administration of the public affairs of Canada—that we should return to party government.

Mr. McKenzie has referred to the good results which came from the last convention. Three years after that convention was held, the Liberal party came into power and remained in office for a period of fifteen years. Did they give this country good and efficient administration? They did. Was there ever a period in the history of this country when there was greater happiness, a greater measure of prosperity, among the people of Canada, than there was during those fifteen years? I want to point out to the Liberals here to-day—it is a matter which has impressed

SIR LOMER GOUIN
Premier of Quebec



HON. G. H. MURRAY
Premier of Nova Scotia

The Joint Chairmen of the Convention

itself upon me very seriously and very solemnly—that the Liberal party were defeated in 1911 upon an issue than which none more righteous was ever presented to any country in the world. They were defeated upon a policy which meant broadened markets for the great natural resources of this country; they were defeated upon a naval policy which time has abundantly established would have been of tremendous advantage to Canada. The reciprocity agreement with the United States was defeated in Canada by the greed and selfishness of a number of people who thought that Canada was created to be exploited for their purposes, and that the well-being and prosperity of that great portion of our population who assisted to make this country great by the development of our natural resources were not to be considered. Upon the defeat of the Liberal party on this issue, I almost lost faith in public opinion.

(At this stage, Sir Lomer Gouin, Premier of Quebec, Associate Chairman of the Convention, entered the hall and was received enthusiastically.)

Hon. Mr. Murray (Resuming): I am glad to be interrupted for such a worthy purpose.

The Liberal party must not forget that the defeat which overtook them in 1911 did not take place upon the fair consideration of a great issue; it was brought about by a misrepresentation of facts, both in the public press and upon the public platform. Toryism never had a warm place in the affections of the people of this country, but if you look at past history you will find that Liberalism, properly presented, always appealed to the great masses of the people. In my judgment, what we require to-day, and what the Liberal party should have is, first, leadership. It is only fair for me to say that, confronted as we are in Canada with the difficulties which lie before us, it is due to the people that the great Liberal party give them the best in this respect that they have to offer. We want unity in our party, for harmony is essential; we want organization; and we want policy. So far as I am concerned, I regard leadership, harmony and organization as the three great essentials. Of course, we must have a platform; we want to state with some certainty our attitude with regard to some of the great matters which are agitating public opinion in the country to-day. With these four things—leadership, harmony, organization, and a sound progressive platform—we need have no fear of the results in the future.

No Liberal who understands public opinion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, no intelligent man who is watching the trend of events, need have any doubt that the public mind of Canada is made up that Union Government at Ottawa does not enjoy public confidence. The Liberal party in this country have valuable assets; let us not destroy these assets. Union Government can never destroy them; the only danger to the assets of Liberalism in this country comes from Liberalism itself. Let us make no mistake; let us deal with these great public problems with wisdom and with judgment; let us have in mind the full responsibility which attaches to our actions. There is always danger in a great democratic convention—I desire to say that, and I say it advisedly—but if we act sanely and wisely on this occasion, there will be no doubt that we shall have the strength of unity and achieve a common purpose for the common good.

Now, I have said all that I intend to say; indeed, when I arose I did not intend to say so much. It is a great pleasure to me to look into the faces of those who are present here; it is a great pleasure to me to see

this evidence of the tremendous vitality of Liberalism in Canada. I always knew it was here; I have great faith in it. Let me say, as one who has had something to do with politics in this country, that if we are true to our convictions; if we carry out the ideals of Liberalism in this country; if we do not make mistakes which will bring about a difference within our own party, there can be no question about the result when the people have an opportunity of declaring their opinion in respect to the perpetuating of Union Government in this country.

I expect that this Convention will be productive of results. I want to thank you for the very kindly reception you have given me. I can only hope that the deliberations of the Liberal party during the next three days will result in great good to our common country.

Appointment of Vice-Chairmen

Mr. D. D. McKenzie: Mr. Chairman, I have another motion to make before we proceed to further business. We have our Chairmen now, and it is proper that we should have Vice-Chairmen also. We are following as closely as possible what was done at the Convention of 1893; on that occasion the Premiers and the Leaders of Opposition in the different provinces were made Vice-Chairmen of the Convention. It is my pleasure now to move that the Premiers of the different Provinces of Canada and the Leader of the Opposition in the great province of Ontario, be nominated as Vice-Chairmen of this great gathering, and shall take their places on the platform when they are elected.

It is a great consolation to us all that we are down to the last province in which the Liberal party is in opposition; there is great prospect that an opportunity will shortly be given to knock down the last pin of opposition in this country, so far as local governments are concerned. I have much pleasure in moving this motion, and in doing so, I congratulate the good people of the Gem of the Gulf upon the magnificent results of their election of a few days ago. Prince Edward Island has had the opportunity of being the first to speak within the last few years—indeed, within the last few months. Before that spoke the great province of Quebec in supporting the distinguished gentleman who is now one of our Chairmen (Sir Lomer Gouin), who has been returned the tenth time as premier of that province. But the number of times would not make any difference; his holding of that office would appear to be in perpetuity anyhow.

The motion, being put by Hon. Mr. Murray, was unanimously agreed to, and the Premiers of the various provinces, and the Ontario Liberal Leader, took seats on the platform as Vice-Chairmen of the Convention.

Sir Lomer Gouin having spoken in French proceeded in English as follows: Ladies and gentlemen, I have only a few words to say. I appreciate the great compliment that you have paid to the province of Quebec in nominating me as Joint Chairman of this Convention, with my distinguished friend, the Premier of Nova Scotia. I thank you for the honor that you have conferred upon me; I will do all I can to help in the good work of this Convention.

I understand that we first meet to chose a leader of the Liberal party and to formulate a programme or platform which we shall submit to the electors of this Canada of ours. I am sure that the Convention will make the best possible choice, and that a good programme will be laid down for the good of the whole country. I suppose I will have further opportunity of addressing this meeting; for the present, I conclude by repeating my thanks for the honor which you have conferred upon me.

Nomination of Assistant Secretaries

Mr. D. D. McKenzie: There is just one more motion before we are through with this part of the business. You see sitting at the table to the right of the platform two distinguished gentlemen of the House of Commons, the member for West Middlesex (Mr. D. C. Ross), and the member for Megantic (Mr. Lucien Pacaud). I am not going to ask you to appoint them, because they are already appointed as Assistant Secretaries; I simply move that their appointment be confirmed by the Convention.

The motion was put by Hon. Mr. Murray and agreed to.

Invitations to the Platform

Hon. Mr. Murray: I desire to ask all Privy Councillors, Senators and Members of Parliament to take seats on the platform. This invitation is a part of the programme.

(The invitation was repeated in French by Sir Lomer Gouin.)

Seats on the platform were accordingly taken by Privy Councillors, Senators and Members of Parliament, in addition to the Provincial Premiers, and the Provincial Liberal Leader of Ontario.

Civic Address of Welcome

Hon. Mr. Murray: The next on the programme is an address of welcome from the Mayor of Ottawa.

(Repeated in French by Sir Lomer Gouin.)

Mr. Harold Fisher (Mayor of Ottawa): Ladies and gentlemen, as Mayor of the city of Ottawa it is my duty to welcome visitors who come to see us. One week it is the Hibernians; the following week it is the Orangemen. One time it is one class; the next time it is another. I do the best I can on all occasions to discharge the duty that is imposed on me. Perhaps I may say, though, without any violation of neutrality, that there are times when the words of welcome come much more readily than they do at others.

Ladies and gentlemen, you are very welcome to Ottawa—the Capital of Canada. I need say nothing of Ottawa to most of you. A good many of you have been here before, and those of you who are here for the first time expect to come again. I am always in a difficult position in trying to say anything about Ottawa, because modesty is very likely to overcome me. Perhaps I may say to you what I have said to other people who have come to visit us: that you will find Ottawa the cleanest city of Canada, the most beautiful city in America, and the best-governed city in the world. As to the cleanliness and as to the beauty, you will have ample proof furnished you as you go about our city. As to Ottawa being well-governed, you do not require any proof of that; I am prepared to admit it.

Ladies and gentlemen, the people of Ottawa are greatly interested in the work you have on hand. We are interested in the choice which you are to make of a leader. The leader of one of the great federal parties may pay his income tax in some other town or city, but the exigencies of his position are such that he must live in Ottawa. We are therefore interested in him because he must become a citizen of Ottawa. For years our city was graced with the presence amongst us of that man whom most of us regard as the greatest of all Canadians. Not all the people of Ottawa worshipped at the same political shrine, but as he went about our streets, as he took part in our social life, he was admired

and loved by everyone. He is gone, and to those of us who knew him—his great breadth of mind and his kindliness of heart—no one can take his place. But we have a right to demand that his successor, whoever he may be, in personal integrity and in all those essentials of character which go to make up a man, shall be worthy to wear his mantle.

We are interested in your choice of a leader; but there is something the people of Ottawa and the people of Canada are much more interested in. You want a leader to lead you somewhere. What we want to know is, where you are going. In other words, we want to know what are your political ideas, what are your political ideals. Any great cause that grips the minds and hearts of men will produce leaders in plenty. Parties, like most other things, are built not from the top down, but from the bottom up, and we ask, the people ask, Canada asks, that you tell us what your principles are.

Since the war, political thinking of a profound sort can scarcely be said to have existed; it has been a question of meeting the immediate need in the best available way. Even before the war there were some amongst us who thought that political philosophy in Canada had reached somewhat of a low ebb. The fight for reciprocity was lost because for ten years no one in this country had preached the gospel of free trade; because the new generation had not been educated in the principles of freer trade. We are met together under changed conditions—under very serious conditions. The young men of this country have fought for freedom; they ask you to tell them what you mean by freedom. We are staggering under a great national debt and under economic conditions that are to all burdensome, that are to some almost intolerable. The people of Canada want to know what solution the Liberal party has for these problems.

During the last five years international relations have changed more, perhaps, than during any period of one hundred years previous to that time. We want to know what Canada's position is to be amongst the nations of the world.

There is one other thing the people of Canada want to know. They want to know from the Liberal party, the Conservative party and the Unionist party, if there is one—they want to know from all parties—whether they are in earnest; whether they are honest. A party must be something more than an aggregation of men banded together to get office and the spoils of office. It must surely be a combination of men who hold similar views, united to accomplish common objects. The people of this country are tired of pretence. During the last few years, under exceptional circumstances, they have suffered much. Politics must no longer be a game; political honesty and sincerity are what the people of Canada will first demand of any party.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will close as I began, by saying that you are very welcome to the city of Ottawa—the city is yours.

THE HON. MR. MURRAY: Mr. Mayor, on behalf of this gathering, I desire to thank you for your kind words of welcome. We all know that Ottawa is a beautiful city and we are prepared to admit that it is a well-governed city. I think most of us have evidence of your impartiality as Mayor. There is just one thing we will ask you for; that is to give us cool weather so that this Convention may have an opportunity of carrying on its business with a degree of comfort. I have no doubt that the representatives from the Atlantic to the Pacific will thoroughly enjoy this meeting in the good old city of Ottawa and I hope that some

of those who are here, as time goes on, will be more familiar with it than they are to-day. The next on the programme is a resolution in reference to the death of the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier and it is fitting that this resolution should be moved by his old, sincere and devoted friend Sir Allen Aylesworth, and that it should be seconded by the Hon. Mr. Lemieux.

Tribute to Sir Wilfrid Laurier

Sir Allen Aylesworth, who was received with cheers, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, upon this occasion, I am sure there will be in the minds of everyone many thoughts of the well-loved leader whom we have so lately lost. To his revered memory it is fitting that this meeting, before it should proceed to the ordinary business for which it is held, should pay this tribute to his greatness, to his sterling worth, to his singular charm of manner and of character and to his sweet loveableness. I cannot speak further but a few words have been put upon paper and there has been given to me the privilege of moving that this Convention should adopt the resolution I am about to read:

"Sadly and mournfully the members of this National Convention of the Liberal Party of Canada record their sense of the irreparable loss the country has suffered in the death of the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

"During more than forty-five years he was continuously prominent as a member of the Canadian Parliament. For nearly thirty-two years he was the honored Chief and Leader of the Liberal Party in this country. He has long been recognized as Canada's most distinguished statesman and as an outstanding figure among the Councillors of His Majesty everywhere in the British Empire. His life-time was spent in the service of his country and his King. History will justly accord to him a high position among the great men of the world.

"Through all his life his chief aim and object was to bring into better accord and greater harmony with each other the two principle races of this country that all might become more truly Canadians whether of French or of British descent. The great wish and hope with which to the end his soul was filled was that we—his followers and his friends—might carry on his life work in that regard, bringing it even in our time to still greater fruition till in Canada dissensions of either race or creed no longer should be known.

"Pure of heart, unsullied in character, devoted always to the highest ideals—he led, as he governed, wisely and well. Great in success he was perhaps even greater in adversity. Himself sprung from the common people it was throughout his life his pride and glory to stand at all times their advocate and champion.

"In their grateful memories he has builded for himself a monument which will live while Canada endures, for he found this country a Colony—he made it a Nation.

"In the hearts of his sorrowing friends—in the hearts indeed of all his countrymen—his life inspired not merely high regard and unfeigned esteem but as well a real affection, which makes our grief at his loss so heartfelt and so keen that no words we may use could equal it.

"He was indeed our country's best and greatest. In all things a 'chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.' "

I have also, Sir, to move:

"THAT a copy of this resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to Lady Laurier in token of the deep sympathy and sincere condolence which, representing the Liberals of Canada, we have felt, which, all too inadequately, we have tried to express and which we beg respectfully to be permitted to offer to her."

As the seconder of the resolution, HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX spoke in French.

HON. MR. MURRAY: You have heard this resolution. It is not desirable to have it re-read. When Sir Lomer Gouin puts the resolution in French it is desirable that all the members of this Convention should rise and bear silent testimony to their acquiescence in this tribute to the memory of our great leader.

The resolution having been put by Sir Lomer Gouin in French, it was unanimously adopted by a standing vote.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

HON. MR. MURRAY: In order to make this Convention the success that we desire it to be, we must do some business and I want you to look at your programmes. At the bottom of page 1 you will see that there is some special business that should be attended to at this stage. I am going to read it to you and it is as follows:

8. (*a*) The appointment of a Credentials Committee of 19 members, of whom two will be selected by the delegates from each Province and one from the Yukon.

(*b*) The appointment of a Committee on Party Organization, consisting of 19 members, of whom two will be selected by the delegates from each Province and one from the Yukon.

(*c*) The appointment of a Resolutions Committee of 110 members who shall be selected by the Provinces in the following proportions:

Alberta	8
British Columbia	8
Manitoba	8
New Brunswick	8
Nova Scotia	8
Ontario	28
Prince Edward Island	8
Quebec	25
Saskatchewan	8
Yukon	1

(*d*) The appointment of a Striking Committee to nominate any other Committee that it may later be deemed necessary to appoint. Such striking Committee to consist of 19 members, of whom two shall be selected by each Province and one by the Yukon.

(*e*) The appointment by each Province of a Chairman and a Secretary, who will be the special representatives of their respective Provinces in all matters requiring Provincial action during the Convention.

(*f*) The appointment by the Provinces of 31 scrutineers and 46 tellers, divided among the Provinces as follows:

SCRUTINEERS

Alberta	3
British Columbia	3
Manitoba	3
New Brunswick	2
Nova Scotia	2

Ontario	6
Prince Edward Island	2
Quebec	6
Saskatchewan	3
Yukon	1

TELLERS

Alberta	5
British Columbia	5
Manitoba	5
New Brunswick	5
Nova Scotia	5
Ontario	5
Prince Edward Island	5
Quebec	5
Saskatchewan	5
Yukon	1

The delegates will retire to their several Provincial Committee Rooms and make the selections from each Province of the representatives on the several committees to be appointed, after they have heard addresses from the representatives selected to address them by the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, the Proportional Representation Society, and the Grand Army of Canada, each of whom will be limited to twenty minutes. I want you to distinctly understand that after the twenty-minute addresses are given the delegates from each of the Provinces will retire to their respective rooms in order that this practical business may be attended to. Let no province neglect it because it is absolutely necessary in order to carry on the business. After these gentlemen speak, we will adjourn and the Convention will stand adjourned until four o'clock in order to allow the Provinces to meet and to carry out the programme which I have presented to them. It would be desirable that the delegates from the different Provinces should meet at 2.30 after lunch, in the different committee rooms, to carry out this programme and make a report. Surely there should be no misunderstanding about this. You have your programmes in your hands and your duty seems to be amply clear. At 2.30 as the delegates meet in their respective committee rooms, they will find a typewritten order of business and a lot of blank forms on which to make their reports so that they will have no difficulty about it. It is very desirable that each Province should meet in its own committee room to carry out this programme of business. After Sir Lomer has made the announcement that I have just made and the speakers that I have indicated have addressed us, we will adjourn until four o'clock. I would now ask the representatives of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees to address this gathering for a period of twenty minutes.

No representative of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees responding, the Hon. Mr. Murray invited a representative of the Canadian Proportional Representation Society to address the Convention but no representative was present. A representative of the Grand Army of Canada being called upon to address the meeting, Captain R. L. Calder, of Montreal, came to the platform and spoke as follows:

CAPTAIN R. L. CALDER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, since coming to the Hall an incident has occurred which, in one sense, unseals my lips, and in another sense, except for your forbearance, may seal them again. A telegram has been put into my hands which rather limits me in a representative capacity in one sense; although, in the fuller and larger sense, it enables me to speak not for one body of the

Veterans of Canada, but for all; not with an imperative mandate, but with the power to fully and freely express their common thought as I gather it from experience and in conversation with my comrades at the front.

This is the telegram:

> "G.A.C. not allowed to affiliate with any political body. You can attend Convention but must not commit Association. We are not sending delegates."

I may tell you I have been delegated by the Vimy Post of Montreal, "———and have not been invited."

The principle of non-affiliation is on the right lines. I shall not discuss the truth of the final assertion. But I am—if I may put it so—free from the shackles of any one section—I speak for the body entire.

When any man presumes to take such a position he likens himself to an expert who goes into the witness box. You have a right to demand on what ground he is privileged to speak with authority. I am willing to submit myself to that test.

I am, as you see by my rank badges, a very inferior sort of an officer. I am on the men's side, not on the staff side. I was a major once, and I reverted to go to France. Probably you do not quite understand what a declension that was. The major stands on the staff side, the sentry presents arms to him. The captain is on the men's side and the private's salute to that officer, in recognition of fuller comradeship, is less elaborate.

On going to the front I became a platoon commander. Let me tell you that I do not think there's a father confessor in the whole Catholic church who knows as much of the flock under his spiritual direction as the platoon commander knows of the men under his command. The men bring to him their sorrows and their desires, their ideals and ambitions. They talk to him as man to man, and unafraid. He confers with others of the same rank, and compares notes, and after two or three years of that mental experience he can say that he speaks for the men he has had under him. Now such testimony is valuable, provided the witness is sincere.

Some 400,000 or 450,000 veterans have come back from the war and what they ask—nay more—what they demand of you, I come here prepared to tell you and to tell you with the utmost frankness.

They demand from you, as the first Postulate, that in whatever you do as a party, you shall adopt the standard of truth and the standard of justice. They demand that you shall apply the standard of truth in the investigation of questions of fact; and that, after you have applied to the standard of truth and you have your facts, have tested them and measured them, you shall then deal with those facts by the standard of justice.

As an old line Liberal, though often excommunicated—(cries of "no, no")—I do not understand the word "Liberalism," I do not understand the teaching of the man who gave me my first lessons in it, if you do not so decide all questions you are meeting on a difficult occasion, with difficult problems to solve. You may get a temporary, vote-catching success by not using these standards, if you do use them you will have inaugurated a new era in the history of Canada. Politics will no longer be a game, but a duty and a privilege.

Of what mental make-up are the soldiers returned from the front? These are young men of from 18 to 30. They have been providentially

lifted out of Canada at an impressionable age, they have been transported to other countries where they have seen other methods, and they have come back here determined not to commit themselves to you unless they are satisfied that you are right. I say this is providential.

I believe in party. The British system of Government cannot be conducted except by party. If you have not got parties to fight each other in the open and like wild-cats, upon questions of principle, you will have factions which will meet behind closed doors to log-roll away your rights, and sell your liberties. Therefore, it is a good thing that the Liberal Party should meet, if the others do not, and find themselves. Parties must readjust their viewpoint from time to time. Principles may be eternal, but the application of principle varies with circumstances. These men, lifted out from the old shackles of party affiliation, are the judge and jury; these men stand as your real jury today. They have come back determined that there shall be a new Canada and that the Canada that they have fought for shall not be a Canada sold and quartered and divided.

What is the first thing they ask? They ask that they shall be given a chance to get back. They have been unselfish so long, bear with them if they think of self. Remember—when you come to discuss the question of re-establishment—remember that while the munitioneers were skying their pay, while the profiteer was rolling up dividends, while the farmer was lifting his mortgage, while the alien in your midst, digging the sewer, was paid high wages, the soldier at the front was exposing his person, jeopardising his family's future and suffering things which no one who has not been through them can even conceive—all for a pittance no respectable workman would look at. He returns to find that population has got denser, that the work which he dropped when the call came has been taken up by others, and that he is crowded out. He wants to get back. He believes in his country. He feels he can serve it in a civilian capacity as he has served it in a military capacity.

Talleyrand said: "You can militarise the civilian but you cannot civilise the military." That was said in the days of professional armies. But we are a civilian army. Born of the people, we have returned to the people. There is no difference between us, although in some limited circles there is a belief that our interests are divergent.

We ask for help in re-establishment. We do not ask you to fulfil promises. You as a party made none and could make none. But there were promises—inconsiderate if you like—made on the eve of the elections. Some people will promise anything in a crisis. We ask you to pin the present Government to their statements; should you become the Government yourselves—then do your best. That is all we ask. Take the form, take the manner you please, but let it be possible for the man who comes back here, and who at the end of six months sees unemployment and starvation staring him in the face, to have some opportunity of getting on his feet again.

That is all the soldier is asking for himself alone. He has come into an economic problem which is being entered into and occasionally discussed seriously, but not as completely investigated by the rest of the population as it is being investigated by the organizations into which the soldiers have grouped themselves. That is the question of the cost of living. If the cost of living was not so high you might not have any request from the soldiers to be re-established. When it comes down to this that a man with a revenue of $200 a month is obliged anxiously to confer with the

head of the household as to whether they can have a roast on Sunday or not, it is time for somebody to interfere. If you do not interfere by legislation somebody will . . . . with bomb and bullet.

What does the high cost of living depend upon? We do not require much further investigation. A Commission has sat and it has proven that the cost of food is to a large extent artificial. Why? Because the organization of business is artificial. You know as well as I do that certain companies, at the approach of the food crisis, have, by Christian Science methods increased their capital stock without an additional cent being put in. Why should we mince matters and gloss them over when we have the horrible example of the Harris Abbattoir Company? It started out with $350,000 in cash. During the war a recapitalization by Christian Science brought the capital stock up to $800,000, and now when peace comes and prices are likely to go down, Christian Science increases the capitalization to $2,000,000. So that on the food that we buy from this company they are making an annual profit of over 120 per cent over the investment. What is true of the Harris Abbattoir Company is true of at least nine-tenths of the industrial organizations of Canada. What does Carlyle say of the French Revolution? He says that they circulated a lie and that when that lie was presented for payment, the answer was "no effects"; and the revolution started. Industrial companies and commercial organizations are circulating the lie that so much money has been put into their business on which they have to declare dividends. That lie is at last coming back for payment, and what is the answer to be? That is a matter with which this Convention must deal in drastic fashion if it is a frank and courageous body.

What is the next question with which I say you must deal? You may deal with it by avoidance, or you may deal with it by a solemn compact and a searching of souls. The soldier is disgusted with this artificial division between race and religion. He has been fighting shoulder to shoulder with English, French, Italian, Gaelic-speaking Scotchmen, Irishmen, Hindus; with Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans for a common object. Do you mean to say that you cannot organize peace on the same basis as war? The older Liberals who listen to me will be horrified at my saying so, but the Liberals at times have played the racial card. The Conservative Party have played it again and again. One thing you must determine upon is this, that in the non-essentials of religion and race (because they are non-essential in the discussion of public questions) differing as you do, you will agree to go on differing, and that everybody shall develop the fine quality of minding his own business.

You may think I speak strongly upon this point. If you sow wheat in a clay soil and the rain falls and the sun beats down upon the field, in the network of its clefts here and there you will find a wheat stem that has been split and is torn to either side. That has been my fate. Born as I am of mixed race—I had almost said of mixed religion—the son of a Scotch Protestant and a French Catholic, for forty years it has been impossible for me to take one prejudice or the other and exploit it. I have spent my life translating the races to each other. I have reaped no personal advantage from it. I present a mild reproduction of that little known but significant episode in which Col. Gugy figured. In 1837, at St. Eustache, in order to prevent bloodshed, he threw himself between the parties and received a British bayonet in the back and a French-Canadian bullet in the breast.

Yet it is possible to bridge the crisis. I would like to see a perpetuation of the entente. Let there be a determination on the part of the Liberals to kill that issue every time it is raised by any party.

Let me tell you that if that is your resolve you are going to have a golden opportunity in the next few years to practice what you profess. You are going to have here a certain number of economic resolutions and you are going to enunciate here certain principles of legislation.

It is impossible to please everybody. At this juncture necessarily, if Canada is to be served, one very large body of men is going to be disappointed. As soon as your economic solutions are thrown into the political field and the people of Canada take up the cry and are prepared to follow you, the good old red-herring is going to be brought forth and dragged across the trail. I am afraid a large number of people in full cry after right and principle will turn to one side and allow prejudice. If common report can form the basis of discussion at a convention, you know as well as I do that the best bet of the Unionist is to correct you with these obstreperous fellows on my right (referring to the delegation from Quebec) and to raise the cry of "French domination." Every argument is going to be based upon the history of the last four years. You English-Canadians who co-operate with French-Canadians will be told that you are rubbing shoulders with men who are disloyal.

I tell you that if you meet that argument head on you can defeat it. The soldier body itself will defeat it. When, three weeks ago at Vancouver, I told a representative delegation of that body how political parties had so bedevilled Quebec and had so cursed it by the exploitation of the race and creed issue that out of self-respect the province could take no other course than that which it had taken; I felt the first pulse of a tide of indignation that will yet overwhelm those who are responsible.

The time to kill prejudice is when it arises. If you, as a body, resolve to stamp upon the snake every time it rears its venomous head and not to hatch it yourselves under any circumstances, you may be defeated in the election, but yours will be the lasting victory that rewards a choosing of the better part. The Party that gives a united Canada and that is wholly sincere in its profession of good-will will not be defeated again until the other party takes the same high ground. I thank you.

HON. MR. MURRAY: We will now adjourn for lunch as it is one o'clock.

Tuesday, August 5th, 1919

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention resumed at 4.25 p.m.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The reports of the provinces of selections made by them for membership on the different committees were read by Hon. Mr. Murray as follows and duly adopted:

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Chairman:—JOHN E. SINCLAIR, M.P.
Secretary:—F. L. ROGERS.
Two delegates to serve on Credentials Committee:—MESSRS. J. J. MCNALLY, J. F. MCNEAL, M.D.
Two delegates to serve on Party Organization Committee:—MESSRS. E. T. HIGGS, B. W. TANTON.
As representatives on the Resolutions Committee:—MESSRS. J. H. BELL, J. J. JOHNSTON, A. B. WARBURTON, J. F. MARTIN, M.D., BENJ. GALLANT, A. C. SAUNDERS, J. E. SINCLAIR, M.P., L. MCDONALD, numbering eight in all.

Two delegates to serve on the Striking Committee:—MESSRS. W. D. WHITEHEAD, C. H. CHANDLER.

As Scrutineers:—E. T. HIGGS, B. W. TANTON.

As Tellers:—MESSRS. F. L. ROGERS, A. C. SAUNDERS, J. J. JOHNSTON, J. F. MCNEIL, J. J. MCNALLY.

NEW BRUNSWICK

Chairman:—HON. W. E. FOSTER.

Secretary:—ALPHONSE T. LEBLANC.

Two delegates to serve on Credentials Committee:—MESSRS. HON. J. S. HEATHERINGTON, P. J. HUCHES.

Two delegates to serve on Party Organization Committee:—MESSRS. A. B. COPP, M.P., P. MICHAUD, M.P.

As representatives on the Resolutions Committee:—MESSRS. HON. W. E. FOSTER, HON. P. J. VENIOT, P. MICHAUD, M.P., DR. W. P. BRODERICK, P. J. HUGHES, HON. C. W. ROBINSON, A. B. COPP, M.P., G. M. BYRON.

Two delegates to serve on the Striking Committee:—MESSRS. HON. W. E. FOSTER, ALPHONSE T. LEBLANC.

As Scrutineers:—MESSRS. A. T. LEBLANC, M.P.P., DR. A. F. ENERY.

As Tellers:—MESSRS. J. G. ROBICHAUD, M.P.P., A. G. HARMER, D. W. MESEREAU, M.P.P., D. SULLIVAN, F. M. THOMPSON, numbering five in all.

NOVA SCOTIA

Chairman:—E. M. MACDONALD, K.C., EX-M.P.

Secretary:—L. H. MARTEL.

Two delegates to serve on Credentials Committee:—JOHN MURPHY of Halifax, and J. J. KINLEY, M.P.P., Lunenburg, N.S.

Two delegates to serve on Party Organization Committee:—MESSRS. J. H. SINCLAIR, M.P., Guysborough-Antigonish; and JOHN B. DOUGLAS of Halifax, N.S.

As representatives on the Resolutions Committee:—HON. W. S. FIELDING, M.P., MR. C. C. BLACKADDER, A. S. MACMILLAN, Antigonish; GEORGE W. KYTE, ex-M.P., R. M. MCGREGOR, WILLIAM DUFF, M.P., COL. J. L. RALSTON, M.P.P., DR. J. B. BLACK, ex-M.P., numbering eight in all.

Two delegates to serve on the Striking Committee:—MESSRS. HON. R. IRVIN, M.P.P., A. B. MCGILLIVRAY, Glace Bay.

As Scrutineers:—MESSRS. CAPT. GERALD MCELHENEY, Windsor-Hants, T. F. BURKE, Sydney Mines, numbering two in all.

As Tellers:—MESSRS. COL. ALLISON BORDEN, Kings, COL. RALSTON, Cumberland, JOHN HOOD, Shelburne, R. H. MACKAY, Pictou, DR. WHITMAN, Stellarton, numbering five in all.

SASKATCHEWAN

Chairman:—C. M. HAMILTON.

Secretary:—C. G. LOCKE.

Two delegates to serve on Credentials Committee:—MESSRS. HERMANSON and MCBETH.

Two detegates to sreve on Party Organization Committee:—MESSRS. MCNAB and PICKEL.

As representatives on the Resolutions Committee:—MESSRS. LANGLEY, MOTHERWELL, KNOWLES, JOHNSTON, MCPHEE, MCMILLAN, CASEY, GARDINER, numbering eight in all.

Two delegates to serve on the Striking Committee:—MESSRS. MCKAY and LEITCH.

As Scrutineers:—MESSRS. GRAVEL, MCGEE and HINDLE.

As Tellers:—MESSRS. HOUSER, ATKINSON, MCMANUS, MCEWEN, and PALMER, numbering five in all.

QUEBEC

Chairman:—HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX, M.P.

Secretary:—JOS. ARCHAMBAULT, M.P.

Two delegates to serve on Credentials Committee:—THE HON. J. J. GUERIN, IRINÉE VAUTRIN, M.P.P.

Two delegates to serve on Party Organization Committee:—THE HON. S. LETOURNEAU, HON. P. PARADIS.

As representatives on the Resolutions Committee:—MESSRS. SIR LOMER GOUIN, HON. ALEX. TASCHEREAU, ERNEST LAPOINTE, M.P., JOS. DEMERS, M.P., THOMAS VIEN, M.P., ARTHUR TRAHAN, M.P., FRANK CAHILL, M.P., F. J. PELLETIER, M.P., A. R. MCMASTER, M.P., S. W. JACOBS, M.P., E. W. TOBIN, M.P., A. K. CAMERON, JOS. ARCHAMBAULT, M.P., HON. H. S. BELAND, M.P., W. F. KAY, M.P., JOHN BOYD, J. E. PERREAULT, M.P.P., HON. WALTER MITCHELL, HON J. A. CARON, M.P.P., A. BEAUDRY, M.P.P., ALPHONSE VERVILLE, M.P., L. J. GAUTHIER, M.P., GEORGE PARENT, M.P., LUCIEN CANNON, M.P., HON. SIDNEY FISHER, 25 in all.

Two delegates to serve on the Striking Committee:—Messrs. James A. Robb, M.P., and L. J. Papineau, M.P.

As Scrutineers:—Messrs. J. A. St. Cyr, Dr. H. Deslauriers, M.P., Dr. Theo. Gervais, M.P., Dr. J. E. Fontaine, M.P., Art. L. Desaulniers, M.P., C. A. Fournier, M.P., numbering six in all.

As Tellers:—Messrs. E. d'Anjou, M.P., F. J. Fafard, M.P., Gustave Boyer, M.P., P. F. Casgrain, M.P., J. E. Prevost, M.P., numbering five in all.

YUKON.

Chairman:—Fred. T. Congdon.

Secretary:—R. C. Miller.

One delegate to serve on Credentials Committee:—John A. McDougal.

One delegate to serve on Party Organization Committee:—Fred. T. Congdon.

One delegate to serve on the Resolutions Committee:—Fred. T. Congdon.

One delegate to serve on the Striking Committee:—J. A. Campbell.

As Scrutineer:—R. C. Miller.

As Teller:—J. A. Campbell.

ALBERTA

Chairman:—Dr. Wm. Egbert.

Secretary:—O. E. Culbert.

Two delegates to serve on Credentials Committee:—Messrs. A. R. McLennan, C. A. Brady.

Two delegates to serve on Party Organization Committee:—Messrs. Hon. J. R. Boyle, O. E. Culbert.

As representatives on the Resolutions Committee:—Messrs. Hon. Frank Oliver, Hon. A. G. McKay, W. H. White, Duncan Marshall, Hon. C. W. Cross, R. B. Eaton, Fred Duncan, Jos. McCallum.

Two delegates to serve on the Striking Committee:—Messss. J. E. Varley, J. A. McColl.

As Scrutineers:—Messrs. Milton Martin, C. Gordon, Dr. T. A. Wricht, numbering three in all.

As Tellers:—Messrs. C. H. Grant, F. S. Selwood, Thomas McKercher, Thomas Bell, and Angus McDonald, numbering five in all.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Chairman:—M. A. Macdonald, K.C.

Secretary:—Chas. E. Campbell.

Two delegates to serve on Credentials Committee:—C. B. Patterson, Frank Mobley, M.P.P.

Two delegates to serve on Party Organization Committee:—Messrs. A. McRae, Charles E. Campbell.

As representatives on the Resolutions Committee:—Hon. John Oliver, Dr. W. H. Sutherland, Senator H. Bostock, W. W. B. McInnes, K.C., Hon. J. A. King, M.D., M. A. Macdonald, K.C., Frank Mobley, M.P.P., A. McNeil.

Alternates:—John Lamb, Mrs. F. B. Miles, numbering in all: 8 delegates, 2 alternates.

Two delegates to serve on Striking Committee:—Messrs. M. A. Macdonald, K.C., Chas. E. Campbell.

As Scrutineers:—Messrs. W. M. Ivel, R. Smillie, J. F. J. Cashion, numbering three in all.

As Tellers:—Messrs. E. S. Knowlton, P. Donnelly, Hon. W. B. Farris, C. B. Patterson, George Powell, numbering five in all.

ONTARIO

Chairman:—Hon. George P. Graham.

Secretary:—W. H. Adams.

Two delegates to serve on Credentials Committee:—Messrs. W. C. Kennedy, M.P., D. J. Sinclair (Woodstock).

Two delegates to serve on Party Organization Committee:—Messrs. Hon. C. Murphy, M.P., A. B. McCoig, M.P.

As representatives on the Resolution Committee:—Messrs. Aylesworth, Dewart, Tolmey, Shaw, King, Murphy, Graham, McMillan, Horsey, Bruce, Fisher, F. J. Brown, Cyr, McIntyre, McLean, Ferguson, Auld, Caldwell, Muir, Sparks, Little, Lapierre, Roebuck, Smith, Mrs. Ferguson, Mrs. Stevens, Miss Armstrong, Mrs. Petrie, numbering 28 in all.

Two delegates to serve on the Striking Committee:—Messrs. J. C. Elliott, M.P.P., F. F. Pardee, M.P.

As Scrutineers:—The six presidents of the district associations: A. Little, H. H. Horsey, W. E. N. Sinclair, H. D. Ramsden, G. J. McGaughey, P. J. Mooney.

As Tellers:—Messrs. E. Proulx, R. L. Brackin, A. C. Hardy, Col. McKee, H. B. McGiverin, numbering five in all.

Chairman:—A. B. McLeod.
Secretary:—J. O. Lewis.
Two delegates to serve on Credentials Committee:—Frank Simpson, W. L. Parrish.
Two delegates to serve on Party Organization Committee:—Messrs. H. Chevrier, M. B. Rombough.
As representatives on the Resolutions Committee:—Messrs. F. C. Hamilton, W. T. McMillan, Dr. Thornton, Captain Wilton, H. Chevrier, J. E. Adamson, P. Broadfoot, A. McLeod, numbering 8 in all.
Two delegates to serve on Striking Committee:—Messrs. J. H. Knott, Dr. Rombough.
As Scrutineers:—Messrs. G. G. Serkan, A. E. Hill, W. H. Truman, numbering 3 in all.
As Tellers:—Messrs. H. S. Patterson, J. H. Gunn, A. M. Bannerman, S. K. Colquhoun, J. L. Cowie, numbering 5 in all.

Rules Governing Resolutions and Their Discussion

Hon. Mr. Murray: The next order of business is the reading of the rules governing resolutions and their discussion. They are incorporated in the programme which, I assume, is in the hands of all those present. The rules are as follows:

"All resolutions shall be in the hands of the General Secretary of the Convention before 6 p.m. of Tuesday, August 5th, and they shall then be submitted to the Resolutions Committee, which shall have authority to accept, reject or amend the same.

"Resolutions accepted or amended will be reported to the Convention by the chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

"Any person proposing a resolution which has been rejected by the committee may, after all the resolutions reported to the Convention by the Resolutions Committee have been disposed of, appeal to the Convention for permission to introduce the resolution, notwithstanding its rejection by the committee. In such case, the chairman of the Convention shall explain briefly the subject matter of the resolution, and put the question as to whether or not the decision of the committee shall be sustained. There shall be no debate on the question, and if the committee's decision in rejecting the resolution is sustained by the Convention, the incident is closed. If the Convention decides to consider the resolution, then the resolution will be open to discussion.

"In speaking to resolutions, the following time shall be allotted to the speakers:

"To the Mover, 15 minutes.

"To other speakers, 10 minutes, with power to the chairman to limit the time to 5 minutes when the discussion has proceeded for a considerable length of time."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I want you to regard these rules governing resolutions as being serious. The Chair is going to enforce them; there must be no complaint or dissent in respect to the enforcement of these rules, if we expect to carry on this Convention as it should be carried on. I want you all to understand these rules; I think they are fair, and that, if carried out, they will expedite business.

Rules to Govern Voting

Hon. Mr. Murray: The next order of business is the reading of the rules to govern voting for the party leader. They are as follows:

"1. The Vote shall be taken by ballot. The official ballots will be distributed on the morning of the day upon which the vote is to be taken.

"2. Nominations for candidates for the leadership shall be made in writing by delegates present at the Convention and may be handed to

the general secretary at any time previous to the hour appointed for taking the vote.

"3. The chairman will read out from the stage the names of the candidates so nominated and will afford those desiring to withdraw before a vote is taken an opportunity to do so.

"4. Those withdrawing will merely announce the fact without making a speech in favor of, or in opposition to, any of the other candidates.

"5. Only one person may be voted for on each ballot. The name of the person so voted for shall be legibly written on the ballot by the delegate voting.

"6. The result of each vote shall be announced by the chairman.

"7. Any candidate nominated may withdraw his name at any time before a final choice is made, and in such case the chairman shall announce the withdrawal to the Convention.

"8. The balloting shall continue until a candidate receives a majority of the total ballots cast, and thereupon he shall be declared elected. Provided, however, that if no choice is made on the fourth balloting the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes on the fifth and succeeding ballots shall drop out of the contests.

"9. The delegates will remain in their seats and deposit their ballots in ballot boxes provided for the purpose. The said boxes will be in charge of scrutineers appointed by the delegates from each province, for the purpose of collecting the ballots and conveying the boxes containing them to a room in the rear of the Convention Hall where the votes will be counted.

"10. Prior to the voting the delegates from each province will meet in their respective committee rooms and appoint scrutineers to collect the ballots and tellers to count them, in the following number:

Scrutineers	
Alberta	3
British Columbia	3
Manitoba	3
New Brunswick	2
Nova Scotia	2
Ontario	6
Prince Edward Island	2
Quebec	6
Saskatchewan	3
Yukon	1

Tellers	
Alberta	5
British Columbia	5
Manitoba	5
New Brunswick	5
Nova Scotia	5
Ontario	5
Prince Edward Island	5
Quebec	5
Saskatchewan	5
Yukon	1

"11. The general secretary, Mr. Andrew Haydon, will act as returning officer and will supervise the counting of the votes and make a written report of the result in each instance to the chairman of the Convention."

These are the rules governing the method of conducting this election; they should be thoroughly understood by every delegate present.

Hon. Mr. Murray: I have read the reports from the various provinces with respect to the appointment of their committees. It is now the duty

of these committees to retire to their respective rooms, to elect their chairmen, and begin their work. So far as the larger Committee on Resolutions is concerned, if the Ontario room is the largest one, that committee can meet there. I ask these committees now to retire, to complete their work as promptly as they can, and to report back as soon as possible.

The committees accordingly retired.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Ladies and Gentlemen, while these committees are carrying on their work, we are going to have several short addresses; I do not want anyone to retire from the hall unless he is on one of these committees. We propose to keep this Convention going continuously, inside and outside.

I am going to ask the new premier of Prince Edward Island, Hon. Mr. Bell, the latest premier to receive the confidence of the people of this country, to address the Convention.

Mr. J. H. Bell (Premier of Prince Edward Island): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for your generous applause. I think I can interpret it. I have read somewhere that when the doctor comes into the reception room and brings with him, and presents, the infant child—the new-born babe—it is always an occasion of general rejoicing, especially if the child indicates vitality and energy. I occupy the position of the doctor—politically speaking. I come today to present to the family of provinces and to their friends (represented by this magnificent gathering), the new-born child, Prince Edward. It is a healthy and vigorous youngster with any amount of vitality, and somewhat disposed to shout.

My friends have asked me, what are the causes of the great revolution in public sentiment in Prince Edward Island. Some of the causes are local provincial; some federal. The late land Government made one serious mistake. They introduced a resolution into the assembly to change the manner of voting, doing away with the secret vote and inaugurating a system of open voting. This retrogressive measure brought the Government into contempt not only with the people at large (who interpreted the resolution as a want of confidence), but into contempt with the supporters of their own party. The Government before the election got into bad odor with all classes.

Then, there was the soldiers' vote. In Prince Edward Island we have two classes of voters; the man of property with two votes, and the man without property, with one vote. The Government, thinking to benefit themselves, invested the soldier, whether he had any property or not, and whether he was of age or not (provided he had been overseas), with the capacity to cast two votes. They placed in his hands a bludgeon which he turned against the men who had given him the double franchise. The majority of the soldiers' vote—perhaps 75 per cent of it—went against the Government. Why? For these reasons, first, because the soldiers in England had been induced to vote for Union Government on the promise that if they did so they would go to France as a unit; and second, the men in the trenches in France were promised that if they voted Union Government they would be given a three months' furlough and an opportunity to visit friends in Canada. Both these promises were falsified and the soldiers came home recently with a grudge in their hearts, a grudge against the Government that had falsified its promises; they came home determined to seek the first opportunity of getting even

with Union Government. They found that opportunity at the recent provincial election.

There was another consideration. In Prince Edward Island, as elsewhere, the Federal Government gave to the soldier, who wanted to become a farmer, a certain pecuniary advantage; they loaned him money with which to buy property—he could mortgage the property and so purchase it. This pecuniary advantage was extended to only about one-tenth of the returned soldiers; the other nine-tenths were not considered; left out in the cold. The fisherman, the mechanic, the blacksmith, the laboring man, were ignored—they got no pecuniary favor. So antipathy prevailed among the majority of the soldiers towards the Government. And the soldiers manifested that antipathy by their vote.

For these reasons the majority of the soldier vote went Liberal. There were other reasons, but I have no time to go into these in detail. There were Dominion matters, the general unrest, the high cost of living. These entered into and became prominent factors in the election. The electors were convinced that Union Government was antagonistic to the interests of the labouring classes and to the masses of the people and that Union Government favoured and was the special friend of the big interests. That friendship was manifested in the first place by allowing and enabling men who had stayed at home during the war to accumulate vast fortunes in the manufacture of munitions. After these fortunes had been accumulated, these profiteers were invited to put their money into Victory Bonds and be relieved, during the currency of these bonds, from federal taxation. It was this which specially antagonized the people against Union Government. Union Government had manifestly become the ally and patron of the men of wealth. I may briefly say that the election in Prince Edward Island was fought out largely upon Dominion issues, upon issues which affect equally every province. It is for this reason it has the greater significance. It is a forecast of what we may expect when the federal elections are called on.

Of one thing we may all be assured, if the Liberal Party of Canada would expect to retain the vote and confidence of the returned soldiers, they must recognize and treat them all upon the same level. They must treat them all generously. Financially, they must treat them generously in so far as the resources of our country will enable them to do it, remembering that the liberties we possess, that the soil upon which we tread, that the country we are privileged to inhabit, that all we have we owe to the brave men who went from Canada to the war and exposed their lives and fought for us upon the fields of Flanders.

Hon. Mr. Murray: We would be glad if the Hon. Mr. Turgeon, of the Saskatchewan Government, would kindly make a few remarks.

Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon, Attorney-General of Saskatchewan: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, this is indeed an honour difficult to decline but likewise difficult to accept. To address a gathering of this sort, representing so much in the national life of Canada, is a task anybody might well hesitate to undertake. But now that I am here, Mr. Chairman, I shall accept your kind invitation, but, if in the very few minutes that I shall be upon the platform, I cannot contribute something to the work of the Convention, I had better have kept my seat.

I have travelled far to come here and I saw so much territory in the trip that now that I am here I am perhaps inclined to speak a little too much of our own portion of the country. Although I know that to speak

of the West is, in the opinion of some people, almost a national crime, if I am to be of any use at all, I must say a word or two about what, according to my experience, the people of western Canada, and more particularly of the province of Saskatchewan, are thinking about just now and are looking for as the outcome of this Convention. Our resolutions committee is now at its labours. That, of course, is the most important task, along with the selection of a chief, which this Convention has to perform, because, as a result of the labours of the Resolutions Committee we will have the platform of the Liberal Party to be promulgated throughout Canada. If there is one thing which I might presume to say to the delegates assembled here, it is this: Let that platform be to the point and, in order that it may be to the point, let it be brief. Let it contain the fewest possible principles upon which the greatest possible number of men and women in this country can agree for the improvement of things in our public life. I know that the people are looking for something which promises action and immediate action along certain essential lines and for that reason I am very much afraid that a lengthy programme containing many planks, and many of these planks merely expressions of opinion as to what should or should not be done in the more or less distant future, would not be taken seriously by the people of Canada. Therefore, I make bold to say, and I do it with a certain amount of trepidation, it is true, that the people of western Canada are looking to a platform being adopted here which will deal with five or six, or at the most, nine or ten, of the things that the people are worrying about to-day and which will promise definite action upon them. We have the tariff, the high cost of living, soldiers' re-establishment, the labour situation, the question of the franchise, and we have two or three more questions perhaps of equal importance, and on all these things our people want to know what we are going to do and that we will do it as soon as we have the opportunity of doing it.

Now, Mr. Chairman, that is all I have to contribute. I say it in order to show that those of us who have come so far have come with great earnestness. We feel that the people do really need a remedy for the grievances under which they are labouring and that what is required is something that will give promise of immediate action upon the things which our people are now thinking about. That is our position in western Canada and I can only express the hope here that when the platform of the Liberal Party is adopted it will be one which can be read in a very short space of time by the ordinary elector of this country—read and appreciated—pithy and meaning something of immediate relief and immediate action. With that programme and with a standard bearer who will inspire the confidence of the people of Canada as a whole, western Canada will respond to your leadership and to your programme, but otherwise western Canada will not.

HON. MR. MURRAY: The gentlemen whose names have been handed to me as being on the programme to speak are on the committees. We would like to hear from Mr. Dewart, the leader of the Opposition in the Provincial House in Ontario. Will some enthusiastic Ontario young man go for him and tell him that the Chairman would like to have him here for a few minutes?

MR. J. W. BOWLBY, K.C., Brantford: I guess I am the only young man in the audience.

HON. MR. MURRAY: You are not the youngest but you have the enthusiasm.

MR. KERR (Cobourg): He attended the first Liberal Convention in 1857.

Upon Mr. Bowlby's return there were insistent cries of "Speech," "Speech."

MR. BOWLBY: Ladies and Gentlemen, it is not fair to catch an old man on the wing. I did not come to this Convention to talk; I came here to try and help. I will do all I can as a delegate to this Convention to promote the interests of the Liberal Party. I had the honour of attending the first Liberal Convention held at St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto, in 1857. I have been a Liberal ever since and I have come here to help, not to talk.

HON. MR. MURRAY: We have with us Hon. John Oliver, Premier of British Columbia, and I know you will be delighted to hear a few words from him. He comes from the extreme west, from the Pacific province.

HON. JOHN OLIVER (Premier of British Columbia): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I can assure you that I feel very proud this afternoon to be a delegate to the largest political Convention ever held in Canadian history, and to say that this Convention is not only the largest ever held in the history of Canada, but that the results will probably be as far-reaching as those of any Convention that has yet been held. Sometimes I have thought after having been projected into political life that it probably spoiled the making of a good Methodist parson. If I were going to take a text for a sermon this afternoon I would take the text: "If a man would be the greatest among you, let him be your servant." If ever there was a period in the history of the Canadian nation when the needs of the country demanded unselfish service, that is now upon us. I would say to you this afternoon that the watchword and the guiding spirit of the Government and the servants of the Government should be to render the most loyal service that it is possible for them to render to their King and country. We have nothing but the greatest admiration for the gallant Canadian soldiers who went overseas to fight the battles of the Empire, and we are proud of the fact that in proportion to our population we contributed our full share as Canadians in the terrific struggle. We are more than proud that Canada's army overseas wrote the name of Canada upon the scroll of fame and that their deeds will go down in history and be known to future generations. I want also to acknowledge the debt we owe to those who were too old for active service and to the women of Canada who so loyally supported the soldiers overseas; there were those whose duties did not call them to the battlefront but who were called upon to support to the utmost of their power the men who were fighting freedom's battle on the battlefields of Europe. But I say to you this afternoon that the battle for freedom has not been completed on the battlefields of Europe, and I want to put it to you most emphatically that the battle for freedom will not be won until we eliminate the selfishness and greed from our citizens and cast out those multi-millionaires and profiteers who have enriched themselves at the expense of a war-ridden nation.

We have problems facing us in Canada today. One of the most pressing of these problems is that which arises out of what is known as the high cost of living. Many of our soldiers and families today find themselves in straightened circumstances because of the high cost of the necessaries of life. I am not one of those who seek to blame everything upon the Conservative Government or upon the Union Government. I recognize that the men composing all governments, no matter what party they belong to, are human beings with a limited amount of ability

and it is ungenerous, and untrue to the best interests of the country, that we should require from men placed in charge of public affairs something that it is beyond their ability to give. The Almighty did not give to men an unlimited ability and the Almighty does not hold a man responsible for any more talents than the talents which the Almighty has entrusted to that man. The Almighty has given to me a certain amount of talent and the Almighty will hold you and me responsible for the way we use our talents as we go through life. It is our duty to make the best possible use of our talents in this time of national stress and difficulty, and I venture to say that the extent of the difficulty is not generally appreciated by most Canadian citizens. The men who are charged with the administration of public affairs have to look forward into the future to see how Canada's obligations are to be met, to see how Canada's needs have to be supplied, to see how Canada's resources have to be developed for the purpose of allowing Canada to meet her obligations and at the same time to restore to Canada that prosperity which her natural resources, the resources that the Almighty has blessed her with, entitle her to expect and which will enable her to take her rightful place among the nations of the world. If anything I can say this afternoon will help you in the slightest degree, whether you are citizens of Canada by adoption or birth, to perform that duty, or will aid this Convention in performing the duty that is before it, I shall be glad of the fact that I have had this opportunity of saying these few words to you.

Hon. Mr. Murray: We will have an address from Hon. Dr. Beland.

Hon. Henri S. Beland, M.P. (Beauce, Quebec): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I had not anticipated having the pleasure of addressing this distinguished assemblage of the Liberals of Canada. But, looking over the tremendous meeting which convened here this morning, I realized that the Liberal party of Canada was not dead. Some ill-advised and wrongfully-informed persons have tried to spread the idea over this country that with the death of our illustrious and beloved leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberal party would cease to breathe. If ever there was an occasion it is now to repeat an historical expression and to say, adapting it to the circumstances: "The leader is dead; long live the Liberal party."

You are confronted with a very big task, indeed; you are asked to frame a platform which will lead the Liberal party to the administration of public affairs in Canada. You are asked also to select a leader. No one amongst you, or amongst the Liberals who are not present here, is worthy of succeeding the man who has departed from this world, but the man who has departed has left with us a political inheritance. We should be guided in the future by the great principles which have been the guiding principles of his life, the principles which he, on a former occasion, over thirty years ago at a memorable meeting in the city of Quebec, enunciated, principles which have as their basis justice for all classes, tolerance and liberty.

Liberty, I, perhaps more than any one of you, appreciate, because for three long years I was deprived of it by our enemies. The civilized nations of the world have been convulsed by one of the most horrible conflicts that has ever devastated humanity. It was attempted on the part of an autocratic power to impose its kultur upon the rest of the world, but the universal conscience aroused by this attempt has stayed the wave, has checked the attempt to impose on the rest of humanity,

those repulsive brute force principles of which we may well say they are "Made in Germany."

Now that the war is over, now that victory has perched upon our banners, a very big task, indeed, devolves upon us as a party. Problems the magnitude of which it is impossible to ignore and futile to disregard, problems that have to do with the cost of living, with social conditions, with the franchise and with economic readjustment, and other important matters, will soon be engaging your attention. They have engaged, or will receive, the attention of committees and the resolutions will be submitted to you for consideration and ratification. But let us not forget that before party there is country. We must be Canadians first, first for the country, next for our party principles and last for our leader —the country first, the party second, and the leader in the last place. That is what should take place amongst all true Liberals in Canada. I do not intend to occupy your attention much longer.

Cries of, "Go on, go on."

Dr. Beland: It is a great pleasure for me to be amongst you to-day after such a long absence. Canada appeared to me better, better than ever before, when I landed on its shores. As I passed from Germany into Holland, as I bridged that immense gulf which separated the world of strife and horror that was Germany from the world of peace, happiness and prosperity that was Holland, I realized more than at any time in my life that man had created a world of horror for himself in contrast with the world which had been created by God for his enjoyment, and this passage from the former to the latter prompted from my soul a hymn of joy and gratitude. The hope which I expressed for the future was that militarism would be wiped off the surface of the earth, that all men would enjoy freedom and that the workingman—the one who toils incessantly—would share in the benefits that are to-day confined to certain classes of the population. In Canada the Liberal party should be the party of the people as against the party of the classes. We want tolerance in this country; we want to ignore races and religious creeds to a certain degree. We want every man in this country to be ready to make a certain sacrifice of his extreme ideas for the common good. I come from the province of Quebec—I come from the great province of Quebec—and I can tell you that in that province there is no other desire—no greater desire—than to live in peace and harmony with the rest of Canada. We want to take our share of the burden. We are ready to share in the government of the nation when the government of the nation is not based on the exploitation of prejudices. I am now coming to a conclusion, because I want to give you an opportunity of listening to the delegates from some of the other provinces. I thank you for your kind attention. I wish I could have related to you a few of the incidents with which I was connected during my absence both in Belgium and in Germany (cries of "go on, go on"). It is impossible. The invariable excuse of the autocratic men who set their hands upon me in Belgium, who held their hands upon me in Germany was, "It is war." When we accused these men of having burned in Louvain, for instance, the accumulated thought of the centuries, the answer of the Germans was, "It is war." When we accused them of having bombarded defenceless towns and villages in France, the answer came from the Germans, "It is war." When we accused them of having shelled the temples of prayer and the homes of feminine charity, they invariably retorted, "It is war." When we accused them of having hurled from the air

diabolical engines of destruction upon defenceless people, the answer was, "It is war." When we accused and charged them with having sent to the bottom of the deep mothers having children at their bosoms and letting out a cry of despair, the German answer was, "It is war." When we charged and accused them of having used violence towards old men and women, the German answer was, "It is war." It is not war. It is war as Bismarck wanted it, and as the great men of the military caste of Germany wanted it, but it is not war as civilized nations understood war if it ever should be inflicted upon the world again. To-day the men who are responsible for all these horrors, for having disregarded and ignored the principles that we had crystallized into solemn declarations at international conferences, have received the punishment that they have deserved. To-day, the broken and insolent Kaiser is sawing logs in Holland. That is the end of him. It is the end of his caste and it is, as we hope, the end of militarism and autocracy in the world, not only in the military field but also in the political world.

We want to have democracy in Canada. We long for it more at this moment, because for the last three or four years, we have had here an autocratic government that has been governing by Orders-in-Council, ignoring the will of Parliament, and the sentiment of the country. The motto of the Liberal Party must be: "Down with Militarism; down with Autocracy of every description in this Canada of ours."

Hon. Mr. Murray: The committees are now at work. I think we have had a pretty successful day, and it is thought advisable that this Convention should adjourn until half past ten tomorrow morning. The committees will all meet, in the meantime, and I trust as promptly as possible.

The Convention adjourned at 5.45 p.m. until 10.30 a.m. on Wednesday, August 6th.

National Liberal Convention

PROGRAMME

Wednesday, August 6th, 1919

1. Convention resumes at 10.30 a.m.

2. For the information and convenience of the delegates the list of committees appointed yesterday and the names of the members thereof are as follow:

(*a*) CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE:

ALBERTA—A. R. McLennan, C. A. Brady.
BRITISH COLUMBIA—C. B. Patterson, Frank Mobley, M.P.P.
MANITOBA—Frank Simpson; W. L. Parrish.
NEW BRUNSWICK—Hon. J. S. Heatherington; P. J. Hughes.
NOVA SCOTIA—John Murphy; J. J. Kinley, M.P.P.
ONTARIO—D. J. Sinclair; W. C. Kennedy, M.P.
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—J. J. McNally; J. F. McNeal, M.D.
QUEBEC—Hon. J. J. Guerin; Irenée Vautrin, M.P.P.
SASKATCHEWAN—Messrs. Hermanson and McBeth.
YUKON—John A. McDougal.

(*b*) PARTY ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:

ALBERTA—Hon. J. R. Boyle; O. E. Culbert.
BRITISH COLUMBIA—A. McRae; Charles E. Campbell.
MANITOBA—H. Chevrier; M. B. Rombough.
NEW BRUNSWICK—A. B. Copp, M.P.; P. Michaud, M.P.
NOVA SCOTIA—J. H. Sinclair, M.P.; John B. Douglas.
ONTARIO—Hon. C. Murphy, M.P.; A. B. McCoig, M.P.
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—E. T. Higgs, M.L.A.; B. W. Tanton.
QUEBEC—Hon. S. Letourneau; Hon. P. Paradis.
SASKATCHEWAN—Messrs. McNab and A. D. Pickel, M.P.P.
YUKON—F. T. Congdon.

(*c*) RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE:

ALBERTA—Hon. Frank Oliver, Hon. A. G. McKay, W. H. White, Hon. Duncan Marshall, Hon. C. W. Cross, R. B. Eaton, M.P.P., Hon. Fred. Duncan, Joseph McCallum, M.P.P.

BRITISH COLUMBIA—Premier John Oliver, Dr. W. H. Sutherland, Senator H. Bostock, W. W. B. McInnes, K.C.; Hon. J. A. King, M.D.; M. A. Macdonald, K.C.; Frank Mobley, M.P.P.; A. McNeil.

ALTERNATES—John Lamb, Mrs. F. B. Miles.

MANITOBA—F. C. Hamilton, W. T. McMillan, Dr. Thornton, Captain Wilton, H. Chevrier, J. E. Adamson, P. Broadfoot, A. McLeod.

NEW BRUNSWICK—Hon. W. E. Foster, Hon. P. J. Veniot, P. Michaud, M.P. W. P. Broderick, P. J. Hughes, Hon. C. W. Robinson, A. B. Copp, M.P. G. M. Byron.

NOVA SCOTIA—Hon. W. S. Fielding, M.P.; C. C. Blackadder, A. S. MacMillan, Geo. W. Kyte, R. M. McGregor, Wm. Duff, M.P., Col. J. L. Ralston, M.P.P., Dr. J. B. Black, ex-M.P.

ONTARIO—Messrs. Aylesworth, Dewart, Tolmie, Shaw, King, Murphy, Graham, McMillan, Horsey, Bruce, Fisher, F. J. Brown, Cyr, McIntyre, McLean, Ferguson, Auld, Caldwell, Muir, Sparks, Little, Lapierre, Roebuck, Smith, Mrs. Ferguson, Mrs. Stevens, Miss Armstrong, Miss Petrie.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—J. H. Bell, J. J. Johnston, Hon. A. B. Warburton, J. F. Martin, M.D.; Hon. Benj. Gallant, A. C. Saunders, M.L.A., J. E. Sinclair, M.P.; L. McDonald.

QUEBEC—Sir Lomer Gouin, Hon. Alex. Taschereau, Ernest Lapointe, M.P.; Jos. Demers, M.P.; Thomas Vien, M.P.; Arthur Trahan, M.P.; Frank Cahill, M.P.; F. J. Pelletier, M.P.; A. R. McMaster, M.P.; S. W. Jacobs, M.P.; E. W. Tobin, M.P.; A. K. Cameron, Jos. Archambault, M.P.; Hon. H. S. Beland, M.P.; W. F. Kay, M.P.; John Boyd; J. E. Perreault, M.P.P.; Hon. Walter Mitchell; Hon. J. A. Caron, M.P.P.; A. Beaudry, M.P.P.; Alphonse Verville, L. J. Gauthier, M.P.; George Parent, M.P.; Lucien Cannon, M.P.; Hon. Sidney Fisher.

Saskatchewan—Messrs. Langley, Motherwell, Knowles, Johnson, McPhee, McMillan, Casey, Gardiner.
Yukon—Fred. T. Congdon.

(*d*) Striking Committee:
Alberta—J. E. Varley; J. A. McColl.
British Columbia—M. A. Macdonald; Chas. E. Campbell.
Manitoba—J. H. Knowt; Dr. Rombough.
New Brunswick—Hon. W. E. Foster; Alphonse T. LeBlanc.
Nova Scotia—Hon. R. Irvin, M.P.P.; A. B. McGillivray.
Ontario—J. C. Elliott; F. F. Pardee, M.P.
Prince Edward Island—W. D. Whitehead; C. H. Chandler.
Quebec—James A. Robb, M.P.; L. J. Papineau, M.P.
Saskatchewan—Messrs. McKay and Leitch.
Yukon—J. A. Campbell.

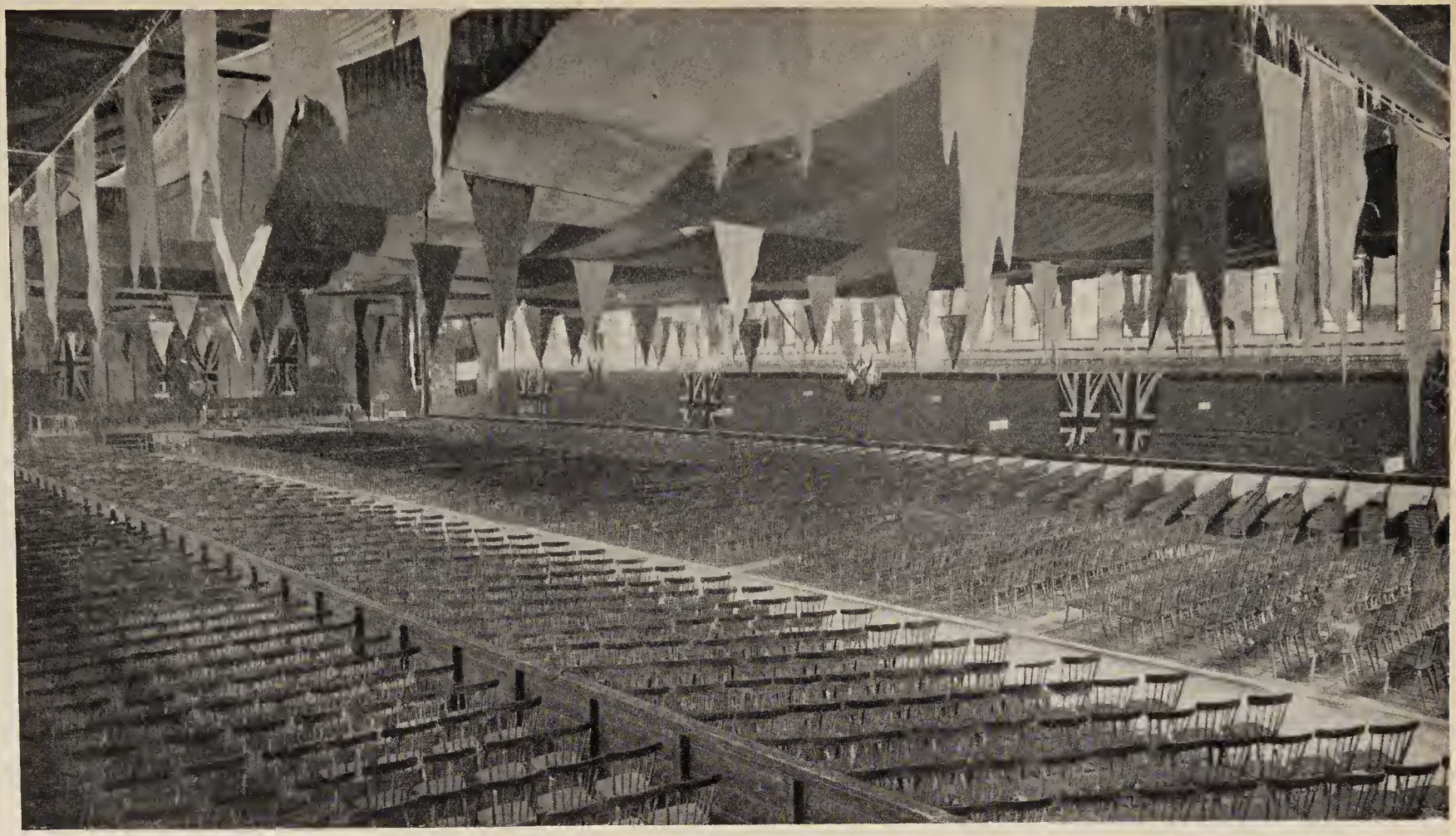
(*e*) The following were appointed chairman and secretary for each of the Provinces:
Alberta—Dr. Wm. Egbert; O. E. Culbert.
British Columbia—M. A. Macdonald, K.C.; Charles E. Campbell.
Manitoba—A. McLeod; J. O. Lewis.
New Brunswick—Hon. W. E. Foster; Alphonse T. LeBlanc.
Nova Scotia—E. M. Macdonald, K.C. ex-M.P.; L. H. Martel.
Ontario—Hon. Geo. P. Graham; W. H. Adams.
Prince Edward Island—John E. Sinclair, M.P.; F. L. Rogers.
Quebec—Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, M.P.; Jos. Archambault, M.P.
Saskatchewan—C. M. Hamilton; C. G. Locke.
Yukon—Fred. T. Congdon; R. C. Millar.

(*f*) The following were appointed scrutineers to collect the ballots when voting takes place:
Alberta—Milton Martin; C. Gordon; Dr. T. A. Wright.
British Columbia—W. M. Ivel; R. Smillie; J. F. J. Cashion.
Manitoba—G. G. Serkan; A. E. Hill; W. H. Truman.
New Brunswick—A. T. LeBlanc, M.P.P.; Dr. A. F. Emery.
Nova Scotia—Capt. Gerald McElheney; T. F. Burke.
Ontario—A. Little; H. H. Horsey; W. E. N. Sinclair; H. D. Ramsden; G. J. McGaughey; P. J. Mooney.
Prince Edward Island—E. T. Higgs; W. B. Tanton.
Quebec—J. A. St. Cyr; Dr. H. Deslauriers, M.P.; Arthur L. Desaulniers, M.P.; C. A. Fournier, M.P.; Dr. Theo. Gervais, M.P.; Dr. J. E. Fontaine, M.P.
Saskatchewan—Gravel, McGee, Hindle.
Yukon—R. C. Millar.

(*g*) The following were appointed Tellers to count the ballots:

Tellers:
Alberta—C. H. Grant, F. S. Selwood, Thomas McKercher, Thomas Bell, Angus McDonald.
British Columbia—E. S. Knowlton, P. Donnelly, W. B. Farris, C. B. Patterson, Geo. Powell.
Manitoba—H. S. Patterson, J. H. Gunn, A. M. Bannerman, S. K. Colquhoun, J. L. Cowie.
New Brunswick—J. G. Robichaud, M.P.P.; A. G. Harmer, D. W. Mesereau, M.P.P.; D. Sullivan, F. M. Thompson.
Nova Scotia—Col. Allison Borden, Col. Ralston, John Hood, R. H. Mackay, Dr. Whitman.
Ontario—R. L. Brackin, A. C. Hardy, Col. McKee, H. B. McGivern, E. Proulx.
Prince Edward Island—F. L. Rogers, A. C. Saunders, J. J. Johnston, J. F. McNeil, J. J. McNally.
Quebec—E. d'Anjou, M.P.; J. F. Fafard, M.P.; Gustave Boyer, M.P.; P. T. Casgrain, M.P.; J. E. Prevost, M.P.
Saskatchewan—Houser, Atkinson, McManus, McEwer, Palmer.
Yukon—J. A. Campbell.

3. Order of Business:—Consideration of Resolutions reported by Committees. Speeches by Provincial Premiers and other prominent Liberals.



THE CONVENTION HALL

Wednesday, August 6th, 1919

MORNING SESSION

HON. MR. MURRAY: Ladies and Gentlemen, the hour has arrived when this meeting should be opened. I regret to see some negligence on the part of a large number of delegates in not being present this morning.

HON. SENATOR DANDURAND: Two hundred delegates are sitting in the Resolutions Committee.

HON. MR. MURRAY: The announcement yesterday was that this Convention would assemble at 10.30; it is now 10.45. I think we must in some way arrange that at 10.30 the full Convention shall assemble in this hall.

RELATIONS OF CANADA WITH THE EMPIRE

HON. MR. MURRAY: I will ask Hon. Senator Dandurand to present a resolution, which will be seconded by Mr. M. A. Macdonald, of Vancouver, British Columbia, with regard to the relations of Canada to the Empire.

HON. R. DANDURAND, K.C.: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I want to explain to the Chairman the reason for the delay in the gathering of a complete attendance at the Convention upon its opening this morning. I belong to the Resolutions Committee, the members of which are discussing the most important parts of the programme which is to be submitted to this assembly. Two or three hundred delegates to the Convention are following this discussion, and that is why they are not here at this moment.

I have the honor to present to you the following resolution:

> "Resolved, that no organic change in the Canadian Constitution in regard to the relation of Canada to the Empire ought to come into effect until, after being passed by Parliament, it has been ratified by vote of the Canadian people on a referendum."

In London to-day a discussion is going on with regard to the remodelling of the British Constitution. The matter of devolution is now before the British public; the question of giving local parliaments to England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland is now a ripe question, sufficiently matured to be debated in the Imperial Parliament as well as out of it. The action which may be taken by the British Parliament will have its natural effect in the Dominions, because this devolution is but a preparatory step to the formation of an Imperial Parliament to which Canada would send representatives. The apportionment of power as between the legislatures of the different dominions and the Imperial Parliament; the restriction of our jurisdiction on certain matters, and the extension of the devolution of power to that Imperial Parliament are questions which are looming up before our eyes. For this reason, I feel that we should notify our representatives, who go to London to discuss this very important matter, to whatever party they may belong, that as the Parliament of Canada may not have been elected on this very question, the people should be consulted by a referendum before any organic change in the Canadian constitution, with respect to the relations of Canada to the Empire, is brought into effect.

I will not enter into a discussion of the merits of Imperial federation; I simply desire that Canada, that Canadians as a whole, shall be duly consulted upon this most important matter at the proper time.

It may be said that we should trust our Parliament fairly to represent the views of the majority of the people of Canada. But we must not forget that members of a Cabinet who have been delegates to London and who have by their signatures given adherence to a certain scheme would feel obliged to defend this scheme in Parliament and press its endorsation. It is to guard against any acceptance of a project which would bind our representatives to pass such a measure through Parliament, without further consulting the people, that we declare that whenever Parliament passes upon such an important matter it shall not be binding upon the people, until they, in their full sovereignty, have been granted an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon it.

I have much pleasure in moving this resolution.

Hon. M. A. MacDonald, K.C., M.P.P., of Vancouver, B.C.: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honour to second the resolution proposed by the Hon. Senator Dandurand. This resolution is one of considerable importance. I could wish that I had more time for cogitation and meditation before being called upon to discuss it.

You will have noticed, when listening to the reading of the resolution, that it seems to voice a feeling of apprehension that the organic relations existing between the self-governing Dominions and the Empire may be altered without consultation with the Canadian people.

Now, I believe, ladies and gentlemen, that in Canada the doctrine inculcated by our late revered leader prevails, and still represents the sentiment of the people; and it may be neatly summed up in the phases "Imperial unity and local autonomy." In this country we firmly believe in British connection; we believe also that the strongest and best way to maintain that British connection which we want to see endure is by the maintenance of the fullest measure of local autonomy on the part of the great self-governing Dominions of the Empire. The opposite principle is, I am convinced, fraught with danger to the state. This resolution lays down the principle that no organic change should take place in the present constitutional relations between the Dominions and the Empire without consultation by means of a referendum with the Canadian people. Now, that is a democratic doctrine; that is the doctrine of self-determination; that is an assertion of the principle that it is for the people themselves to decide what their future course of action should be on any great question. The principle therefore of the resolution cannot, I take it, be objected to by anyone.

As I have said, the resolution voices a feeling of apprehension that some change may take place in the direction of the establishment of some sort of Imperial Council without the people of Canada being consulted. Probably there are good grounds for that apprehension. It is also the fact that some of our leading public men who are ambitious to shine as stars in an Imperial Government, particularly if they have Tory and Imperialistic proclivities, believe that they can speak for the Canadian people simply because for the time being they represent a majority of the Canadian people in Parliament. But in general elections there are many issues before the people and it is impossible to say that this or that issue has received the endorsation of the people; hence it is surely proper that in a matter of this kind the people should be specially consulted before any policy involving vital alterations in our relations to the motherland should be acted upon.

As the Hon. Senator Dandurand has pointed out, there is a movement at the present time for the devolution of authority in the British Isles—a move, I believe, in the right direction; a move in the direction of Home Rule within the component parts of Great Britain and Ireland itself. I repeat that I believe such a policy is in the right direction. But such a movement when accomplished cannot possibly form the basis of a scheme of Imperial Federation on a larger scale of the great galaxy of free Dominions already enjoying home rule, that make up the British Empire. Any attempt to work out a feasible scheme of Imperial Federation—which, if it is to be fair, can be based upon representation—will be found to be absolutely impracticable. Consider India with its teeming millions; consider Canada with its population of no more than eight millions of people. I say that when you get down to a practical basis and try to work out any fair scheme of representation in an Imperial Council, you will find that not only will the right of self-government be impaired but that it is absolutely impracticable and will contain the germs of future misunderstandings. Why, therefore, should we seek to alter our present relations to the Empire or interfere with the silken cord of love, which has stood the stress and strain of peace and war and which now binds us more firmly to the motherland than any new conventions can possibly do? Let us benefit by the experience of the past; let us maintain not only the traditions of Liberalism but the avowed policy, as I understand it, of the Liberal party—the policy enunciated by our late lamented leader and which I summed up a moment ago as Imperial unity, British connection, and at the same time the freest local autonomy. The maintenance of this principle is the best means of maintaining that British connection which we prize and of contributing to the happiness and well-being of the Empire as a whole.

Mr. W. D. Gregory (Oakville), Halton County: Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens, I very strongly approve of the resolution which Senator Dandurand has introduced, but it seems to me that it falls short of what we should do on this occasion. In the resolution proposed, we do not state our opinion on the question; it is of such importance that it should be submitted to the people; but we do not state what, in our view, the people should do. I think the people are entitled to some leadership upon this question, and it is the duty of the Convention to give it to them.

In nearly all of the Conventions which have been held this subject has been discussed. In the resolutions of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, adopted at the meeting held in Winnipeg, they say:

> "We are strongly opposed to any attempt to centralize Imperial control. Any attempt to set up an independent authority with power to bind the Dominions, whether this authority be termed parliament, council or cabinet, would hamper the growth of responsible and informed democracy in the Dominions."

The Ontario Council of Agriculture passed precisely the same resolution, the Alberta Liberals also dealt with the matter at their Provincial Convention. This is what they said:—

> "That this Convention declares that no change should be made at any Imperial Conference in our constitutional relations with the Government of the United Kingdom which would impair or limit in any way our freedom of action or decision as a nation."

The Central Ontario Reform Association, at its meeting at Toronto, said:—

> "We regard the present movement for centralized Imperial control as highly dangerous to Canada. If successful it would prevent national development and be subversive of true democracy."

As I have said, I think that the people are entitled to some leadership from this Convention; that is what we came here for—to give them leadership. We should follow the example of the Conventions which have already been held and state that in our opinion the movement for centralized Imperial control is highly dangerous to Canada, and then ask, as Senator Dandurand does in his resolution, that the matter be submitted to a vote of the people. There is nothing, I think, which would tend to promote discord in the different parts of the British Empire so much as this movement which is now in progress. Perhaps, Mr. Chairman, you have heard the story of the man who was sitting by the fireside and saw two cats lying together there, the picture of harmony. He said: "We must try to preserve this harmony that we see here"; so, in order that the cats might not get apart he tied their tails together—whereupon they fought like blazes. Centralized control will promote discord rather than harmony.

I move, therefore, that the resolution be preceded by these words:

> "Resolved that we are strongly opposed to centralized Imperial control."

So that the resolution will read as follows:

> "Resolved that we are strongly opposed to centralized Imperial control and that no organic change in the Canadian Constitution in regard to the relation of Canada to the Empire ought to come into effect until, after being passed by Parliament, it has been ratified by vote of the Canadian people on a referendum."

Hon. Mr. Murray: Mr. John Boyd, of Montreal, will now speak to the amendment.

Mr. John Boyd (Montreal): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, a great many important subjects of vital interest to the whole Dominion will be brought before this Convention, and I am sure you will all agree with me when I say that there could be no more important question for our consideration than that of the relations of this great Dominion with the mother country, because the matter strikes at the very foundations of our national life and of our whole future. It is only because I have personally taken some interest in this question and have written some things with regard to it that I venture to address this Convention for a very few moments.

It was my intention to move an amendment to the resolution as it has been proposed by Hon. Senator Dandurand, but Mr. Gregory took the wind out of my sails by covering practically the ground that I had intended to cover.

The resolution proposed by the Resolutions Committee is all right, so far as it goes, but, in my view, it does not go far enough. While it asks that this question should be submitted to Parliament and to the Canadian people, it does not protest against the insidious campaign that has been waged, and is still being waged, not only in Canada, but on the other side as well, by the ultra-Imperialists. I say "Ultra-Imperialists," because there are sane Imperialists, such as the distinguished leader of the Liberal party in England, Mr. Asquith; but there is a school of ultra-Imperialists, whose leaders I do not need to mention,

who are endeavoring to strike at the very foundations of the Confederation pact and to make us part of a great centralized body in which the Dominion will absolutely lose its autonomy.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I think it is for the great Liberal party, for the party which for so many years followed the lead of that great and distinguished Canadian, to remember the words which he uttered in this great city of Ottawa that in all our doings and in all our actions we should remember that we are for Canada first, Canada last, and Canada all the time. Therefore, I think it well that this Convention, representing the great Liberal masses, the democratic masses of this Dominion, should ask not only that any projects of this kind be submitted to Parliament and to the people, but that a most emphatic protest should be entered against the schemes which are now being hatched in London, and which have their ramifications in every part of this Dominion through some very influential men—schemes which are designed to strike at the very foundation and the very basic foundation of Confederation. The Confederation pact was entered into by a solemn agreement made between Sir George Etienne Cartier, Sir John A. Macdonald and the other representatives of the Dominion, and the Imperial authorities in London, an agreement which provided that Canada should always and forever enjoy the most absolute autonomy and self-government.

It is time, it seems to me, that there should go out from a great body such as this an emphatic protest in order to demonstrate to these people that Canadian Liberalism—Canadian democracy at least—will not stand any interference with the absolute autonomy of this country; with the absolute right of Canada always to govern itself and to be master of its own destiny. The amendment proposed by Mr. Gregory makes that perfectly plain, and I have great pleasure in seconding it.

Hon. Senator Dandurand: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I stated when I presented this resolution that I would not enter into a discussion of the problems of Imperial federation, inasmuch as my mandate from the Resolutions Committee was simply to propose the resolution as it came from that Committee. My mandate is still limited to the resolution which I did propose. It is needless for me to assure you that I am in sympathy with the amendment, but I leave to this assembly the decision as to whether they will vote for it or not.

I have studied Imperial federation as proposed by various groups in the Empire. The one which has made the greatest headway has been proposed to the public by the honorary secretary of an Imperial organization in England, called the Round Table. Mr. Lionel Curtis, who has gathered together the friends of that scheme throughout the Empire, has gone about as a missionary from one dominion to the other obtaining adherents to his views. He has published books; he has published and edited a review called "The Round Table," which is still in existence. He has honestly and with the greatest sincerity placed the question before the Empire. He has stated that Imperial federation means taxation. He has further added with great sincerity—and I admire him for it—that Canada was the part of the Empire which needed Imperial federation the less.

I mention these facts to let you know what is the trend of thought throughout the Empire among certain groups. Devolution of authority is coming in the British Isles; what kind of scheme will be evolved by the representatives of the Empire, who will soon be called together to

discuss the matter, I do not know; but I feel that unity in autonomy should continue to be our policy, and I shall not be chagrined if this assembly adopts the amendment that has been proposed.

In explanation of the resolution as amended, Hon. Senator Dandurand spoke briefly in French.

HON. MR. MURRAY: Hon. Mr. Lemieux desires to say a word with respect to this resolution.

HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX, M.P.: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would not attempt to address this large Convention on this motion were it not that I feel it my duty as a Canadian of French descent to explain fully what is the sentiment of the average French-Canadian with regard to this question of the relations of Canada with the home Government.

First of all, let me say that we are British subjects, happy and proud to be so. It is true that we in Quebec are a conquered race, but we also have made a conquest, that of responsible government. We treasure our British institutions which we would like to keep safe and sacred for our descendants.

As between the resolution presented this morning by my friend, Senator Dandurand, and that of my good friend, the future member for Halton, I will stand by the latter because there is in it a clear-cut statement against any attempt to centralize the government of Canada in London, or, as our forefathers were wont to say, in Downing Street.

Sir, Canada is no longer an infant colony. There was a day—and I hope that we all have read that chapter of the history of Canada—there was a day when the government of Canada was carried on by the British officials in Downing Street. The department over which I presided for some years, the Post Office Department, was managed from Downing Street; the Public Works Department was also managed from Downing Street. But in Ontario and in Quebec—or, rather, in Upper Canada and in Lower Canada—there were free men who protested against that regime, and who caused to be installed in Canada forever a responsible government; and since that day Canadians have all enjoyed in their own country the same privileges and the same rights as any Briton enjoyed in the British Isles. We have the same King; we honor the same flag; but we have our own government and we want that government to be managed by Canadians.

As my friend Senator Dandurand said a moment ago during the last few years there has been a very insidious movement with a view to transfer Canadian authority from Ottawa to London. Sir, His Majesty the King, advised by the Ministers of Great Britain, can well afford to govern Great Britain and the affairs of the British Empire, and when the Mother Country and the British Empire are on their trial, they can depend on the support from both the colonies and the dominions. You do not require a charter; you do not require a written instrument, to rouse the feelings of free Canadians in support of the British flag whenever the flag is in danger. Those of us who have lost a son in the great battle for liberty have not given up our dear ones in order to create a new form of Imperialism. Our Canadian boys died on the battle field and they sleep under the sod for those lofty principles of British civilization, of British freedom and British fair play.

Ladies and gentlemen, that insidious movement has received, thank God, a salutary check during the last session of our Parliament; and I

am proud to say that the resolution to do away with all titles in Canada was moved by the respected representative of the city of Kingston, Mr. Nickle—an honest Tory. Titles and decorations were being given away by the Whips of the parties as a lure to the weak-kneed; but titles and decorations have been done away with, and to-day the best title and the highest decoration for a Canadian, whether he be of British descent or of French descent, is his own loyalty to the King and to the flag.

I am in favor of Mr. Gregory's resolution because, as he points out, there is danger of centralized government. Sir, the cleavage between the Tory party and the Reform party lies in that very word, "centralization." You had an illustration of it not many years ago when the naval policy was propounded by our late beloved leader in the House of Commons. When he pledged the support of the Canadian people to the Mother Country by the creation of a Canadian navy, built in Canada, manned by Canadians, flying with the British ensign, the Canadian flag, at once the Tory party took exception to that national policy and they at once advocated the abject policy of offering a paltry sum of money to John Bull. This policy they proffered instead of giving to the Mother Country such assistance as was rendered by the Australian navy which in the great war was such an effective aid to the British admiralty. For the time being that project of a Canadian navy was abandoned, but Sir Wilfrid Laurier—never forget it, men of Ontario—Sir Wilfrid Laurier lost the support of many of his friends.

Years went on, and the great war came; battles were fought on land and on sea. Where was the Canadian navy, to guard the Pacific and the Atlantic coasts against the German raiders? Ask Mr. Hazen; ask Sir Robert Borden; ask the men who thought they had fulfilled all their duties as Britishers when they suggested the payment of a tip of $35,000,000 to John Bull. They had criminally sacrificed the best interests of the Mother Country and of Canada as well.

Then, I say, we have in Mr. Gregory's resolution the very cogent statement that we as Canadians, we, as reformers, are historically and traditionally opposed to any policy of centralization. We, as Canadians, will manage our own affairs, and when the Mother Country is on her trial she need not call for her friends; she knows that wherever floats the British flag she has friends who are ready to sacrifice their all in order to secure the triumph of civilization and liberty.

Ladies and gentlemen, on many occasions Sir Robert Borden has said that we shall have a voice in the affairs of the Empire. Mr. Asquith, the revered leader of the Liberal party in England, has stated on many occasions that all this was a sham; that the responsibility of governing the British Empire could not be shared by any of the Dominions—which meant that within their own spheres the Dominions are free to act as they please, and the Mother Country is free to act as she pleases. Therefore, gentlemen, I say to you all: let well enough alone in our relations with the Mother Country. Let us stand by the principles, not only of Laurier, but of John A. Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper; let us stand by the principles of George Brown, of Lafontaine, of Baldwin, of William Lyon Mackenzie, and we shall be pursuing a just and proper course as British subjects and Canadians.

The resolutions was adopted, as amended.

HON. MR. MURRAY: I now ask Hon. Duncan Marshall, Minister of Agriculture in the province of Alberta, to address a few remarks to the Convention.

Hon. Duncan Marshall (Minister of Agriculture, Alberta): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not quite clear why I should be asked to take up any of the time of this Convention, unless it is because I represent, to some small extent at least, the agriculture of western Canada.

Now, I do not know just what I should talk about. I have not received any instructions from the chairman, and perhaps before I get through I am going to forget the fact that this gathering is much interested in politics. As a matter of fact, I want to say this to begin with: so far as the western Canadian farmer is concerned—and I picked enough stones on an Ontario farm to qualify me to speak to some extent for the Ontario farmer also—the farmers of this Dominion want no special privilege from any government or party in Canada. It has been the habit and the business of governments in our country, during the last dozen years or so, to become altogether too paternal. If they were not prepared to legislate in the interests of people who made demands upon them or made certain requests of them, they then were prepared to give them a hand-out from the public treasury in lieu of the justice which these people were entitled to from that Government.

There are two things that the farmers of this country are interested in governments doing for them, and those two things are the business of government in a country like this. One of them is that the farmers' sons and daughters should be so efficiently trained that they will be qualified to make the best farmers and farmers' wives that can be found in any country in the civilized world, and the other is that the Dominion Government should take from off the backs of the farmers of Canada the burden of the protective tariff. If governments will do these two things for the farmers of our country, then the farmers will take care of themselves.

I am not going to trouble you people with a discussion of the tariff. I listened to thirty or forty speeches on that subject last night in the Resolutions Committee, and you will probably have to listen to fifty or sixty speeches here before the resolutions are finally adopted; so that I am not going to take up the time of the Convention in trying to convince a body of men who are already persuaded that the elements of protection in the tariff of Canada should be absolutely eliminated. I desire only to say this: that so far as the farmers are concerned, we are not asking for any special privileges. We are willing to go as far as anybody will go along the lines of free trade; personally, I should be glad to burn every custom house between Canada and the United States.

I am not going to discuss the record of the present Government on the tariff; it is too devious a course for me to attempt to follow in the brief time that I have to talk to you. I will say, however, that the farmers of Canada have borne with this thing just about as long as they are going to. We are about in the position of the fellow who was walking along a dusty road one day and became very thirsty—it is a habit people have in parts of Ontario now, that of becoming thirsty as they travel along. Well, he came to a little village, and at the edge of the village there was a nice, new, painted pump; so he said: "Here is where I get a drink." He took up a nice, new tin cup that was chained to the pump, and he started to work the handle of the pump. The thing seemed to work hard, as though pumping, but no water came except a little dribble, a few drops; and after he had sweated and pumped, and pumped and sweated, for a while, and still got no water, a man who

lived in the town came along and said: "What are you doing?" He replied: "I am trying to get a drink." "Oh," said the other, "You are, are you? Do you know what you are doing?" "Oh, well, no," replied the thirsty one. "Well," said the other, "You are pumping that fellow's tank full in his attic." Now, the farmers of Canada have filled just about enough attic tanks, and one of these days they are going to quit pumping for good. I have sufficient confidence in this Convention of serious men, gathered together from all parts of Canada, to believe that they will lay down the kind of political programme and platform that will give the farmer a rest from this pumping.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I do not want to lose the opportunity of saying a few words to a gathering of this kind with respect to the whole agricultural question as it affects Canada. The great thing that we want to do, especially we farmers want to do, is to quit decrying our business, and to give the boys and girls of this country an inspiration in the development of agriculture. We have built up in the last few years a tremendous national debt, and not a loyal citizen of the country has one word to say against the reason why it was built up. Nobody in the Canadian House of Commons has uttered a protest against increasing the national debt of Canada in order that this country might play her part in the great war for liberty in Europe; and we are glad that that debt was so created. But I want to tell you, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, that we have to meet this debt and we have to pay the interest on it when that interest is due. In a country like Canada, in which agriculture is absolutely the primary industry, and practically the only means of creating national wealth, you cannot pay the interest on your national debt, you cannot discharge that liability, unless you have development in agriculture and in agricultural production in Canada such as this country never witnessed before.

Prior to 1896 the prairies of western Canada were a bald-headed wilderness, and for fifteen years, with the great Liberal government in power in this Dominion, a large part of that waste was peopled and happy homes sprung up on farms all over the country. Since the year 1911 we have had no appreciable increase in the agricultural population of our country. If you want to know how we are going to meet the liabilities of this Dominion, I will tell you: by peopling the forty or fifty million acres of idle land in western Canada with men who will produce corn, oats, wheat, barley, flax, and good live stock of all kinds to sell in the markets of the world. There has to be organized in this country the greatest, the most successful, and the most careful immigration campaign that Canada has ever had. The only way that we shall be able to bear up under the burden of our national debt is to get some more people in here to divide it up with us, and also to increase the efficiency of agriculture.

There never was a time in the history of Canada—indeed, in the history of the whole world—when it was so important that the men who are on the land, and who are producing foodstuffs in this country, should be enabled to produce them with the greatest possible efficiency at the least possible cost. I saw a statement in a Chicago paper the other day, about a column and a half long, dealing with the question of how to reduce the price of eggs. The gentleman who wrote the article had several schemes; one was to make eggless omelets; another was to make eggless cakes; another was to organize women's societies whose business it would be not to buy eggs—to boycott the business. I wonder if it

ever occurred to any of these fellows that a pretty good way to reduce the price of eggs would be to get more hens to lay? And that is just what is going to happen in this country; eggs are going to go up to about one dollar a dozen and the beef to about one dollar a pound, and until a lot of those fellows who are writing learned dissertations on how to reduce the price of foodstuffs are driven out into the country to feed calves and set clucking hens.

Not only must we get men on the land in this country, but we have to get the boys and girls of Canada trained in the science of agriculture. I am glad that we welcomed here yesterday seven, or eight, or nine (or how many?) provincial premiers, and Hartley Dewart, one who is going to be a provincial premier within a few months. Let me say a few words to these men. It never was the business of governments in Canada, so seriously as it is to-day, to see that agricultural education is spread abroad throughout the land.

I was educated in the public schools of Ontario—and it took me a long time to get through the public schools here. It was largely the fault of the teachers, I know; but I was a good while in the public school. I forget how many years I attended public school, and I forget how many teachers I had, but do you know that all the time I went to the public school I never had a teacher say to me that it would be a fine thing for me to be a farmer. That it would be a fine thing for me to be a better farmer than my father was. My father was a good farmer—he was a Scotch farmer, and he thought he was a good farmer—it is the same thing. Well, I never had a teacher say to me: Look here, the finest and the best ambition that you can have in your mind and heart is to settle down in this country and to be looked up to as the best cultivator of land, the best breeder of live stock, in the county of Bruce. Oh no, they never said anything like that to me; and I am living to-day, with my wife and family, on a prairie farm in western Canada, and raising Shorthorn calves, in spite of the education that I got as a farmer's boy in the province of Ontario.

I was much struck by a story told me by a friend of mine who came back from overseas. I visited Belgium on one occasion and I found that the Belgian farmer was the best cultivator of land that I had ever seen. I know that the Belgians made more progress in the improvement of the breeding of draught horses during the twenty-five years preceding the war than any other country in the world. So I was interested in what this boy told me: He said that when he was in Flanders, one day they were off, kind of idle. "We were going around back of the lines," he said, "when we came to a little Belgian school-house that had been demolished by a shell. We kicked around in the ashes, debris and plaster there, and came across some books. I got a primer which I could not read, but a lad from France was there and was able to translate it. So we sat down and laboriously figured out one lesson in the little primer, and this is the way it read: 'My father owns a horse; the horse is a good horse because his feet are sound. The horse is a strong horse because his back is short.' " And then I thought of the stuff they taught me, about "cat, rat, hat," and "the cat is on the mat," and "the mat is by the fire;" but I have never wondered since why the Belgian boys became great horse breeders; I have never wondered since why I had to pick up for myself what little agricultural education I have, make my own experiments and do my own work in order that I might become a half decent farmer. Well, that indicates what we have to do all over Canada;

we have to teach the boys and girls in the public schools, the boys and girls all over this broad dominion, that the finest business in the world, that the business that offers to a man the greatest opportunity for home-building, that the business that offers him the greatest opportunity to become a useful citizen of his country, is that of living on and tilling the soil of a good farm.

That is the kind of thing we have to do; we have to get away from an idea which is very prominent in the minds of so many farmers who have damned their business more than anybody else has ever done, in declaring that it is a system of drudgery, and by everlasting complaints. Say, did you ever hear a bunch of women discussing things at a quilting bee? They may gossip a little, but they do not gossip as much as a bunch of men do at an auction sale. But if you listen to them for a while, what do you hear them say? Someone will say: "Poor girl, she married a farmer." Now, that is the kind of thing that I want to get out of the minds of the farmers' sons and daughters in Canada. I want these boys and girls to learn something about the greatest science in the world, the science of tilling the soil, the science of breeding and feeding, and caring for good live-stock, the science of producing the finest finished product in the world, the finished product of the farm. What are your finished products of the mill and factory when compared with the finished product of the farm in the shape of fine live stock, I care not whether it be horses, cattle, sheep or hogs?

Let me tell you one more story, and then I will quit before the Chairman calls me down. Sometimes when you are away from home you observe more than when you are at home. When I was in Ireland, I was struck by one thing—and when I made that statement in Edmonton, my friend, the Rev. Doctor McQueen, said that I was mighty lucky to get out of Ireland and only be struck by one thing. But there was one thing that impressed me strongly in Ireland. I saw in Ireland as good farmers as I saw in any country. I saw some of the very best farmers that I saw in the old land; and then I saw some farmers who were not as good as others that I had seen; and it is a funny thing that the poor farmers were living on the best land—deep, black soil that would grow any kind of crop. I have never seen better land than I saw there—that is, anywhere outside the province of Alberta. But these farmers were not farming; they were sitting around, damning the government, praying for Home Rule, and cursing everybody in general and their luck in particular, at having been born and having to live under the government of that country. But when you take these men out of that country and bring them to Canada and the United States, they become the very best farmers; they become leading citizens and business men. But they have made up their minds that they are downtrodden and they won't do anything—they have no inspiration.

When I left Ireland I went to Scotland, and I went up to the hungry hills of Aberdeen. I saw land in Aberdeen that would not grow a crop of mullens if it was not well fertilized, and on that land I saw some of the best farmers and some of the best live stock in the world. Aberdeen has given to the world Amos Cruickshank, William Duthie, W. S. Marr, James Bruce, Sylvester Campbell, John P. Sleigh, William Ritchie, James Durno, and a dozen others I might mention, who are not only the greatest live stock men in the world. Why are these men great? It is because of the interest they have in their business and the confidence that it is the greatest business in the world. I strolled through the

Collynie pasture fields with William Duthie and had him introduce me to his Shorthorn cows. He pointed to his Minas and his Misses, his Broadhooks and his Butterflys, his Beautys and his Bessies, his Victorias and his Matchless, his Villagers and his Violets, his Duchess of Glosters and his other distinguished and aristocratic Scotch families—because I believe that the only place that aristocracy should have in the world is among the live stock on our land. He told me the history of some of his breeding as we walked in the field; and I will never forget that occasion when we went around the corner of the barn and that great Shorthorn bull, Danesfield Storm King, flashed on my vision, standing knee-deep in a Collynie clover field; no picture that I saw in any art gallery of Europe could rival the picture of that great bull as he stood there in all his majesty.

Then we went in to supper. My boy Jack, about twelve years of age, was with me, and when William Duthie sat at the head of the table he paid no attention to the rest of us. He took Jack and sat him down beside him, and he forgot the rest of us after he started to talk to the boy—because you know, a man who likes calves always is a man who likes boys as well. And he told my boy the history of the fights he had had in the show ring, of the errors in judgment that he had made, and of the difficulties that he had to face and overcome, until one day he was able to stand in the centre of the ring at the great Royal Show at London and see the march past of live stock, and see leading them all the grand champion herd of Shorthorn cattle owned by William Duthie.

King Edward VII was in the royal box; he himself was not only a breeder but a judge of Shorthorn cattle. He said: "Who owns the winning herd?" They said: "William Duthie." Kings have a habit when they want people of sending for them to come to them, but King Edward did not send for William Duthie; he stepped down out of the royal box, and he said: "Where is William Duthie?" He walked to the centre of the ring, found the man who had bred these cattle, took him by the hand and said: "You have done more for Great Britain in breeding that magnificent herd than have most of our great public men." My boy Jack got an inspiration from that grand old man that day, an inspiration that will last him throughout life and now the great ambition of his life is first to get a university education and an agricultural education, and then to become, if he can, the best breeder of Shorthorn cattle in western Canada. He will be engaged in an occupation or business that requires more brains, more intelligence, more education and more training than any other occupation that I have any knowledge of or any experience with.

That is the kind of inspiration that I would like to get into the hearts of the boys and girls all over Canada who are likely to be on Canadian farms. I would like them to have the ambition to increase their efficiency, to get the training they need for the business; and when the farmers get the scientific education and training that they need for their business, no government in Canada will dare to put up a protective tariff against the farmer and in the interests of the manufacturer.

I have only one ambition and that is to live long enough to see the intelligence of the Canadian farmer made the standard of intelligence for the whole of Canada. I want to see the western prairies peopled with men and women who will raise boys and girls whom they will train to follow in their footsteps—but doing things a little better than they did—until across the whole of that country where to-day there are

millions of acres of uncultivated prairie, corn, and wheat, and oats, and flax will wave a doxology to multiplying homes.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Ladies and Gentlemen, I have now pleasure in introducing Mr. Hartley Dewart.

Mr. H. H. Dewart, K.C., M.L.A. (Leader of the Opposition in the Province of Ontario): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, after the splendid and breezy speech, redolent of the West, that you have heard from my friend Mr. Marshall, I am afraid that you will be in no humor to listen to any mere academic discussion. It is a splendid thing to feel that we have in this Convention, in so far as every line of thought and activity is concerned in Canada, men who, like Mr. Marshall, can give us a lead in their respective departments of work and thought. As I listened to the discussions that took place in our committees and to the addresses which came from this platform I felt that it was a splendid thing that we have at the head of the various departments of the Liberal party men who can give a lead to the thoughts and to the activities not only of the Liberal party but of the Dominion of Canada during the next few years. I cannot but compare the situation that has existed in my own province in so far as agriculture is concerned with what we find in the great provinces of the West. You would hardly believe that we had in the province of Ontario an already overburdened Premier who appointed himself Minister of Agriculture that he might learn the rudiments at the expense of the people of Ontario. The contrast between the situation in Ontario and what we find in Alberta is striking, indeed. I might tell you a story that illustrates the position in so far as the Liberal party is concerned with reference to the people of the Dominion. At the time Mr. Bryan was running for President of the United States, a prize was offered for the best story that illustrated his candidature, and this is the story that commanded the prize: There was a farmer driving a herd of calves along the road to market, and as he drove them along a bull escaped from a nearby field and charged the herd of calves. The farmer and his boys did the best they could to stop the charge of the bull but without result, and as the calves turned tail, followed the bull and vanished over the hill, the farmer shouted, "You can follow him as far as the next State, but you will find out your mistake when supper time comes." As far as the people of Canada are concerned, they have realized that a mistake has been made and that a mistake more forcibly will be made if this Government is followed upon the false lead that is being given to the people of Canada to-day.

I was glad to hear the resolution that was introduced, and the splendid speeches with which it was supported this morning, dealing with the question of Canadian autonomy. There is no question of greater importance in so far as the provinces and the Dominion are concerned to-day. We are told by our Conservative friends that never was the relationship between our provincial government and the Dominion government closer than it is to-day. Why is it so close? It is so close because of the usurpation of autonomous power against the will of the people and of their assumption to represent the people against their will and without a mandate. I am glad that this Convention has placed itself so splendidly on record in favor of the autonomous power of Canada in so far as our internal affairs are concerned and against the usurpation of power coming from any source, militaristic or otherwise.

In the province of Ontario, because of the conditions prevailing there, I have heard it said that we will have to fight again the old battle for

responsible government. We thought that half a century ago that battle had been fought and won, but we find that those who have been appointed to govern simply upon one issue, because that issue appealed to the minds and gripped the souls of the people of Canada, are abusing the powers entrusted to them and enacting legislation that they have no mandate from the people to enact. We want to get rid of some of these political middlemen. You perhaps remember the definition that Disraeli gave of the political middleman. He said that he was a gentleman, who, having plundered one party and bamboozled the other, said: "Let us have no party strife but fixity of tenure." We have in Ontario gentlemen who have politically plundered one party, who have been endeavoring to bamboozle the other and who now say "Let us have no party strife but fixity of tenure." In England there is a parallel condition. Mr. Winston Churchill is in favor of forming a central party composed of the moderates of the Unionist and Liberal parties, and is suggesting that they create this party in order to help to keep what has been won by the war. But we need a Liberal party in Canada not merely to help to get back what has been lost, but to get back what has been neglectfully and wantonly wasted by those who have been administering the affairs of this country. We believe that it is time there was a change in the administration of affairs in Canada. The same tendency exists on the part of governments and individuals. Self-preservation is the first law of nature and because of that, in so far as governments are concerned, self-preservation is the idea that generally governs them—believing in the divine right of governments; but the day of the divine right of kings is past; so must the day of the divine right of governments and we come to the enunciation of the doctrine that the people must, and will, govern and determine the policy of Canada. In this great Convention here, I see hope not only for the future of Liberalism but for the people of Canada.

If our great leader were here to-day, he would give us the motto and the watchword "Fight on." When, after the election of 1917 there was a temporary eclipse, what was the watchword that was given to Sir Wilfrid by his splendid wife, Lady Laurier? Her watchword, the splendid and inspiring motto that she gave to him then, was "Fight on." That is the motto of the Laurier Liberal Club. I give it to you as the watchword and the motto of the Liberal party. Liberals all "fight on" along the same aggressive and progressive lines that Sir Wilfrid would have fought had he been here; fight on for the benefit of the people of Canada throughout the Dominion, so that honesty may prevail in the Government, fight on so that the resources of this country may be developed and preserved not only for the people of to-day but for future generations.

Failure to Enforce Income Tax

Hon. Mr. Murray: We have another resolution from the Resolutions Committee to present to you. It has reference to the failure of the Government to enforce the Income Tax. I would ask Mr. J. W. Wilton, M.L.A., Winnipeg, to move this resolution, and it will be seconded by Mr. D. A. Lafortune, M.P.

Mr. J. W. Wilton, M.L.A. (Assiniboia, Man.): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen———

A Delegate: What is the name?

Mr. Wilton: Wilton.

Mr. Bowlby: From the breezy West.

MR. WILTON: One of our friends says that I am from the breezy West. It is fortunate that the breeze is not subject to customs tariff. The resolution which I have to move is as follows:

> "THIS Convention condemns the Government because it has not enforced the Income Tax Law in such a manner as to make it produce the revenue which such a tax should produce if properly collected."

I feel somewhat at a disadvantage coming after the galaxy of orators who have preceded me. Mr. Lemieux, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Hartley Dewart constitute a trinity whom it is very difficult to follow, and I fear that perhaps I may be in the position outlined in Holy Writ, which says, that after the whirlwind followed the still small voice. However, I am here to do my duty as I see it at this moment. It is a matter of deep regret to me that I am unable to speak in a language that will be intelligible to our friends who are sitting on the right in this Convention.

A few months ago I returned from service in France. While in France I mingled to quite a large extent with the people of that land from whom our good friends from Quebec have sprung. I returned with a deep feeling of respect for the heroic men and women of that immortal land. I have seen them carrying on with quiet heroism worthy of the heroic names of old, carrying on very close to horror, strife and death. After surveying these people I could at last understand why France has given to the world so many noble spirits inspired by the dream of liberty and who fought the battle for freedom in the days gone by. Upon a certain morning in September of last year, I stood, at an early hour, on a little hill just outside the village of Cherisy, on the Arras front. The morning light shone down upon the military cemetery there and fell upon 200 white crosses just erected to the memory of 200 men belonging to a French-Canadian battalion from the city of Montreal, who had given their lives in order that the British flag, British institutions, British traditions and ideals might not perish from the earth, but might continue to enlighten and enfranchise those who come after us. It is for that reason that I am heartily in accord with the words uttered by Capt. Calder from this platform only yesterday when he said that racial strife, racial discord, racial and religious prejudice must be banished from this Canada of ours. These men lived together, fought together, and died together, and those who survive must work together to make Canada what it ought to be, the fairest portion of the greatest dominion upon which the sun has ever risen.

Now, Mr. Chairman, Canadians have fought for liberty and a square deal abroad. We are called upon to-day to fight for a square deal at home. We are confronted with a tremendous burden of taxation, a burden which will press heavily upon our people and a burden which is not fairly, properly or equally adjusted. There is only one way by which this burden can be borne and that is through the medium of taxation. There are only two methods of taxation available at the present moment—indirect and direct taxation. For seventy years we have raised our revenues by means of indirect taxation and what has the result been? We have developed fabulous fortunes; we have created money kings, and in our great cities have developed slum conditions. A small element of the people have lived in splendour and luxury, while the vast mass of the people have had to struggle for their daily bread. Speaking as one who has been in France, speaking for the men who have come back, speaking for the heroic labor classes who labored to support

these men while they were overseas, I say that these conditions must cease, that these conditions cannot continue, and that this system of taxation must be replaced by some other system which will more fairly, justly and equitably distribute the burden.

As I see it, one of the means of direct taxation that is calculated to produce results is the income tax. That principle has been recognized by the present Government. It has been recognized, but it has not been applied. I am credibly informed that according to the latest returns, only 35,000 people have made returns for the year 1917. In my own province of Manitoba I am positive that at least three times that number should have made returns. What does that indicate? Does it not indicate that while recognizing the principle, this Government is not honestly endeavoring to apply it? They have been tempering the wind to the shorn lamb, they have been playing up to the old capitalist class unmindful of the rights of the great common people, the hard-working men and women of this land who found the country a wilderness and who, by their patient toil, have converted it into a land that blossoms like the rose.

In my opinion this great assemblage of Canadian citizens and Canadian patriots should join with one voice in condemning the Government for proving false to their principles, for misleading the people and for defeating a great principle in their failure to apply the income tax Act which stands upon the statute books. I, therefore, move this resolution, and I trust that this Convention will adopt it.

Mr. D. A. Lafortune, M.P. (Jacques Cartier): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel somewhat at a loss to be called to address such a large and important audience. I am sure this favor has been extended to me because I have the honor to represent here the finest constituency in the Dominion. I have, indeed, the honor to represent the constituency of Jacques Cartier, formerly represented by great men. I was the happy victor in the last election, having been elected by a surprising majority of 3,250. I assure you that on the evening of the victory I walked straight on the streets.

It is assuredly due to the position I hold if I am called upon to second the resolution just read, and so masterly explained and supported by the speaker who preceded me. I support and approve most heartily the remarks you have just heard.

You do not expect from your humble servant a formal address. I reserve those orations for the next elections, in the near future, no doubt. I am a convalescent. For four long months I was sick in bed, and only courage and pluck decided me to leave my quarters and take part in the election battle in which I have defeated my opponent by over 1,000 majority. I was so sick, gentlemen, that I could not attend the funeral of my honourable and old friend, a neighbor by birth, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but I wept alone in my room as I would weep near himself.

Men from Quebec, who do me the honor to listen to my words, men of all the Dominion, I was rather a young man in 1893, but I had the honor to attend the great Convention held in that year. It was a magnificent and splendid gathering, although not to be compared with this one. I was at the door of Parliament, in Ottawa, when the Convention was opened and resolutions adopted.

In 1886, I was a candidate in the finest constituency of the Dominion —Montcalm County—but on the election day I was badly beaten. Yes, the voters of that constituency gave me a bad threshing; but I

NINE PROVINCIAL LEADERS

Who were Delegates at the Convention (*Reading left to right*)

HON. J. H. BELL
Premier of Prince Edward Island

HON. T. C. NORRIS
Premier of Manitoba

HON. W. M. MARTIN
Premier of Saskatchewan

HON. CHAS. STEWART
Premier of Alberta

HON. SIR LOMER GOUIN
Premier of Quebec

HON. W. E. FOSTER
Premier of New Brunswick

HON. G. H. MURRAY
Premier of Nova Scotia

HON. JOHN OLIVER
Premier of British Columbia

H. H. DEWART
Leader of Liberal Party in Ontario

had, anyway, put in some seed, which sprouted very slowly, indeed—25 years. Seed that was, however, good, and after 25 years I had the honor to be the M.P. for that county.

When Sir Wilfrid, our dear departed, asked me to give up Montcalm constituency and carry the fight in the county of Jacques Cartier, I said to him: "You ask me something that is not fair for the constituents of Montcalm; those people have supported me and worked in my behalf day and night. I have built a nest in the Laurentides that no one is able to destroy." The dear departed replied: "My friend D. A., we have to make sacrifices in this world. Listen to me, be a candidate for Jacques Cartier, and I am certain you will carry the liberal banner to the fortress at Ottawa and carry the Conservative stronghold."

Quite right, I carried the day.

Gentlemen, I believe in public hustings. I could speak here for three or four hours' time, but I am not going to tax your patience, and am going to conclude, but with regret. Be sure, if I have another chance, I will come back and amuse you longer.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for listening to me, and you especially, Mr. Chairman, for calling me to address this gathering, and thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your kind attention. Let me say to the constituents of Montcalm and those of Jacques Cartier, who are my friends, my faithful judges, men on whom I can depend when necessary—good-bye, thanks. Do not forget your old friend D. A. when the right time shall come. Good-bye, thanks.

The resolution was adopted.

The Convention adjourned at 12.30, to meet again at 2.30 p.m.

Wednesday, August 6th, 1919

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention resumed at 2.30 p.m.

Report on Party Organization

Hon. Mr. Murray: I have a report in my hand from the Committee on Party Organization and it is as follows:

"The Committee on Party Organizations beg to report as follows:

"We recommend the formation of a National Liberal Organization Committee to be constituted as follows:

"1. The President who shall be the Leader of the Liberal Party for Canada;

"2. Nine Vice-Presidents, one from each Province who shall be named by the Liberal Association of each Province. In the case of any Province in which there is no Provincial Liberal Association, the Liberal Premier or Leader of the Opposition shall nominate the Vice-President.

"3. A National Council of fifty-four, one of whom shall be the Provincial Liberal Premier or Leader of the Opposition, or his Nominee, as the case may be, and five others to be selected by the Liberal Association for the Province, where one exists, or by the Liberal Members of the House of Commons in a Province where there is no Liberal Association for such Province.

"4. The Members of the Council in each Province to be a Finance Committee to receive subscriptions for the expenses of the Committee.

"5. The Committee shall select a National Organizer who shall have charge of the Head Office, which shall be located in Ottawa.

"(*Sgd.*) J. R. BOYLE,
"*Chairman.*"

I will now ask the Hon. Mr. Boyle, Attorney General for the Province of Alberta, to address you in respect to this resolution.

HON. J. R. BOYLE (Attorney General, Alberta): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, in all countries having any form of democratic government, there are at least two parties. There is always the Conservative party present; you can be sure of that. It may be under a different name from what we have it here, but there will always be a Conservative party who believe in vested interests, or what they term vested interests, and in what they call high privilege, and to maintain an organization for the purpose of preventing, if possible, any interference with any special privileges they have and, if possible, to secure further special privileges encroaching upon the rights of the people. On the other hand, you will find a party under various names, but in this country under the name of the Liberal party, organized for the purpose of reform and for enlarging and solidifying the rights of the common people. No political party can be successfully maintained without organization. A political party, after all, is only a group of men holding common views upon certain principles which they consider essential in government, and who unite together for the purpose of convincing the rest of the people that their views are the sound and correct views for the government of the country.

We have had in the past organization of the Liberal party almost exclusively by individual units and by provinces. In some of the provinces the organization has been very complete, in other provinces not so complete, while in still other provinces there has been very little attempt at organization at all.

Your committee appointed to consider this matter have come to the conclusion that in a country the size of ours, extending over such a vast territory and being comparatively sparsely settled, and established upon the basis of provinces, the organization of a political party should be, as it has been heretofore, by provinces, but nevertheless, we believe that the different units, the different provinces of Canada in connection with politics are at the present time in much the same position as the Allied Governments were in the great war before they had a unified command, and we have come to the conclusion that the establishment of this Dominion organization would bring about unity of action and purpose and put the organization upon the basis of a unified command.

Therefore, the proposal is that there shall be established a party organization for the purpose of having one organization throughout the Dominion which will confederate, if you like, all of the different provinces and have its head centered in this city of Ottawa, the capital city of the Dominion. I shall not take time to enlarge upon the duties of the central office. Suffice it to say that one of the duties should be to see to it that sufficient publicity is carried on to let the people of this country know what the Liberal party stands for and what the Liberal party is doing. The public must be kept informed in order that we may keep up the interest and that we, as men and women banded together in one common cause, shall be able to convince others that we are right. A duty of the head office would also be to take an interest in seeing that every province in the Dominion is thoroughly organized so that when the

time for the commencement of hostilities comes, when the writs are issued for another election, we shall find that the Liberal party throughout the Dominion is ready and will be under a unified command that will bring about success.

It is not the intention of the Committee, as the report will show, that any attempt should be made to interfere at all with the particular scheme of organization established by the Liberal party in any individual province in Canada. Each province has its own peculiar conditions and must have a scheme of organization to fit those conditions. In moving that this report be received and concurred in, I can only state, that in my opinion, if it is carried out and men are appointed, as the scheme provides for selecting men from each of the provinces in Canada to meet here and establish the organization with a head office here to take care of the organization of the Liberal party throughout this Dominion, and if it is done properly, it will in a large measure ensure success when the time comes.

The Committee was impressed by the remarks of the chairman in opening this Convention when he put in the order of their importance, as they occurred to his mind, matters which should engage the attention of this Convention. He considered that the important thing in the first place was leadership, in the second place organization, and in the third place the platform. Whatever may be the order in which different delegates think these principles should be placed, there can be no question about it that it will be difficult, even with the best leader and even with the soundest platform, to be able to get our united views to prevail in this great country unless we have a thorough organization.

Hon. Mr. Murray: This resolution will be seconded by Mr. J. H. Sinclair, M.P., member for Antigonish and Guysborough, Nova Scotia.

Mr. J. H. Sinclair, M.P. (Antigonish and Guysborough, N.S.): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Chairman has asked me to make a short speech; he does not believe in long speeches at a meeting of this kind. Neither do I. I think it was Horace Greeley who said that if a man could not strike oil in five or ten minutes, he was either boring with a bad auger or in the wrong hole. I will not attempt any lengthy discussion. My duty this afternoon is to second the motion of the Hon. Mr. Boyle for the adoption of the Report of the Committee on Organization. It is before an audience like this unnecessary for me to discuss the necessity of organization. We will all agree on that point. We all remember the history of our own party. After the great Liberal Convention of 1893, a Dominion-wide organization was started. That organization did splendid work with the result that three years afterwards, when the contest came, the Liberal party swept the Dominion of Canada and they gave us fifteen years of honest and progressive government. Nor do we forget the election of 1911. We lost that election because the Conservative party was organized and the Liberal party was not. We have another illustration in the case, the war which is fresh in the memory of everybody. The Kaiser was ready for the fight; he had been forty years making preparation. The Allies were not prepared and it looked for a few years as if disaster might overtake us and the Kaiser might overrun Europe. It took the Allies three years to perfect their organization in order to face him on the battlefield. Let us not make the same mistake here. Let us now prepare for the struggle which cannot be very far away. I can see by the faces of the men and women before me that this Dominion is ripe for a great Liberal organiza-

tion. Men have come to this Convention, I am told, who have travelled 3,000 miles at their own expense. They did not come in private cars; they paid their own travelling expenses. They came from the far off Peace River, from beyond the Rocky Mountains, from the plains of the West, from the mining regions of North Ontario, from the banks of the St. Lawrence and from God's own country down in the Maritime provinces. They are here for the purpose of dealing with these vital questions that are confronting us now and obtaining for this country a good, clean, honest and progressive government like that which we had from 1896 to 1911. Go into the adjoining room where the Resolution Committee is at work on the tariff platform and listen to the diverse opinions that are being expressed by the gentlemen who are dealing with that all important question and you will see how necessary it is that we should get together and ascertain each others' views and arrive at some common ground on which to stand on this great question.

Let the Liberalism of the East and the Liberalism of the West stand together in this crisis. Let the Liberal party everywhere show a united front to the enemy. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder and do our part to-day as we have done in the years that are past, to build up on the northern half of this continent a great state, a state worthy of ourselves, worthy of the great heritage that has been left to us, worthy of the splendid stock from which we have sprung, a state where there will be justice for all, free scope for all, a fair reward for labour and a new home for freedom, and where the hundreds of thousands of new settlers who will come to our shores from Europe and from the United States may learn to prize the things that we prize, may learn to stand for the things that we stand for, may learn to value those great principles of self-government that our forefathers brought with them long ago from those little islands across the sea, government by the people and of the people and for the people; principles that, with all their shortcomings and with all their defects, are still the best hope in this life of the sons of men.

The purpose of this resolution is to start a Dominion-wide Liberal organization, one that will extend from ocean to ocean, that will embrace all the provinces of Canada and enable us to carry on the work of preaching the gospel of Liberalism throughout this Dominion and be instrumental in driving from the treasury benches the most profligate administration this country has ever had. I have great pleasure in seconding the motion of the Hon. Mr. Boyle.

The resolution was adopted.

Loyalty to His Majesty the King

Hon. Mr. Murray: The next resolution which will be presented to the Convention is expressing our loyalty and devotion to His Majesty the King and also our unalterable attachment to the British Empire and to Canada, as well as our gratitude to the valiant Canadian army for its splendid share in the great victory. This resolution, which I am sure expresses the feeling of every member of the Liberal party, will be moved by Senator Bostock, Leader of the Opposition in the Senate, and seconded by Mr. MacMillan, Liberal candidate in South Huron.

Hon. Senator Bostock: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, this resolution which has been placed in my hands deals with three very important matters. It reads as follows:

> "This Convention desires to place on record its devotion to the person and office of His Gracious Majesty King George the Fifth

and its appreciation of his untiring efforts during the war in promoting harmony throughout his Dominions and also its unalterable attachment to the British Empire and to our own beloved Canada.

"AND this Convention further desires to place on record its gratitude to the valiant Canadian Army for its splendid share in the great victory, which has brought the blessings of peace to the world. In the desperate struggle between the forces of autocracy and democracy our gallant soldiers have covered themselves with glory by their courage and devotion to duty and have earned the undying gratitude of all Canadians and made the name of Canada an inspiration for future generations."

I do not suppose that any one considers that it is really necessary for us to affirm at this great gathering of the Liberals of this Dominion our devotion to our King. I think that everyone here is absolutely and entirely in favour of that part of the resolution. The work that has been done by the King and Queen of England during the war, their devotion to their duty and to everything that contributed to the welfare of the British Empire and of this Dominion during the war, their consideration and sympathy for all those who took such a great part in the fight, have won for them the eternal gratitude of the British race in whatever part of the Empire it may be found, and we especially appreciate very highly the good-will, sympathy and consideration that their Majesties have shown towards the people of this great Dominion. Therefore, I repeat, we will all be entirely in sympathy with that part of the resolution. Nobody will take any exception to the second part of the resolution in which we give expression to our devotion to this great country, Canada. We are all devoted to our country and we will all do what we can to promote its interests, realising that we are citizens of a country that stands second to none in the world.

The main part of this resolution is designed to express our appreciation of the great work that has been done by our soldiers during the late war. We all know how our brave men responded when the question was put up to them and when the time came that they should volunteer and go forward to fight in the interest of Canada to protect us from the danger that threatened us by the aggregation of the German army and the German people, and we all realise that the fight that they put up for liberty and justice and to defend democracy against the autocracy of the Germans, was a fight that will go down in history as one of the greatest examples of courage and patriotism that has ever occurred in this world. We believe that our soldiers have covered themselves with glory on the plains of Flanders, on the fields of France and in other parts of the world where they have been called upon to take part in this great fight. What they have done there will redound to the credit of themselves and of their country for all time to come. The part that they took at Ypres, Festubert, Vimy Ridge and the other battles in which they were engaged is well known to us all and I am sure that this great audience will appreciate and pass unanimously this resolution which expresses our gratitude to our brave soldiers for the part which they played in the great struggle which has now happily been brought to a conclusion. I have very much pleasure, therefore, in moving the adoption of this resolution.

MR. THOMAS MACMILLAN Liberal Candidate for South Huron: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, as loyal citizens of Canada, as men and women who are loyal to our King and to the Empire, it is needless for me to dwell upon that portion of the resolution which expresses

our devotion to his Majesty. I am proud, however, to have the opportunity of paying a tribute of regard to the noble men who have done their duty to the country and to the Empire in such a way that, do what we will as citizens of Canada, we can never recompense them for the noble work they have done. After almost five years of such continuous strain, after five years of good work on the part of the people of Canada as a whole, of such splendid service on the part of the women of Canada in Red Cross and other activities, and after such service and sacrifices by our brave Canadian boys, I say again, we now realize we owe to them a debt which we will never be able to pay. Our soldiers have fought as they did for the preservation of the liberties of the world and in the service they have performed, as well as the manner in which they have performed it, they have shown us an example which, if emulated by Canadians in Canadian life, would assure to this country the great future which we trust and believe is in store for it. They fought not only to save the liberties of the world, but, that war may come no more and that henceforth questions of international moment shall no longer be settled by appeals to bloodshed and the sword, but that the principle which should actuate the nations will be the principle enunciated well nigh two thousand years ago, and only now being recognized, although not half appreciated, the grand principle of peace on earth and good will towards men—that principle which, the more we realize it and the more it is understood, the more will it command the admiration of its homage of all the people of every country in the world. I take pleasure, Mr. Chairman, in seconding the resolution proposed by Senator Bostock.

HON. MR. MURRAY: You have heard this resolution. I am going to adopt a slightly different course in regard to it than that which was adopted with respect to the former resolution. I am going to ask this splendid gathering of Canadian citizens to rise and sing "God Save the King."

The Convention carried the resolution by a standing vote, concluding the demonstration by singing the National Anthem.

HON. MR. MURRAY: Ladies and Gentlemen, I will call upon Hon. Mr. Stewart, Premier of Alberta, to address a few words to this gathering.

HON. CHARLES STEWART (Premier of Alberta): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to assure you that as a Liberal who has travelled from the East to the West, this is a proud day in the history of my life—a day on which I participate in a reunion of the Liberals of the whole of Canada in the old city of Ottawa, the home of Canadian Liberals.

You had a demonstration this morning from one of the Ministers of my government of the unity of the westerners, who spoke to you upon agricultural subjects. Usually we begin our addresses as good, old-time Liberals, by referring to traditional Liberalism, and I want to assure you, Mr. Chairman, that no one is prouder than I am of the traditions of the Liberal party and of Liberalism generally. Smiling down upon us to-day is the face of the old Chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier; and I know that from the realms above we can count upon his pleasant and benignant smile.

We are facing new conditions to-day, and while we are not departing one iota from the traditions of Liberalism, we must realize as men who are true to a principle that we are facing conditions similar to those which every man, at some time or other in his life, has been called upon to face and to deal with.

We are just emerging from the most terrible war in the history of mankind; it would be idle to expect that conditions would remain unchanged. No man who has gone through that horrible holocaust of war can come back to Canada the same man as he was when he left; no man or woman who has had to do war work in Canada is the same man or woman who pursued his or her daily avocation before the war.

I welcome this gathering as a gathering of the stalwarts from all parts of Canada for the purpose of deliberating upon new conditions. That their deliberations may be short and to the point is my prayer, and that their deliberations will result in a platform that means something in the interests of democracy, and, therefore, in the interests of Liberalism as a whole.

In Western Canada to-day—and, I take it, perhaps in the whole of Canada—we are threatened with no greater menace than that of a desire in the minds of men to profit by following the shorter route of class legislation. It has been my lot to be accused as a westerner, when coming back to my old home in the East, of being a radical of the radicals; some of you easterners have said that there is nothing that can be done that will satisfy the westerner. Ladies and gentlemen, we come to you to-day, not in any spirit of that kind, but in a spirit of get together, a spirit of reunion. We are asking you to come West as far as it is possible for you to come, and we shall come East to you as far as it is possible for us to come East. This we are prepared to do in order that from one end of Canada to the other we shall have a united party; in order that there shall be no division in the forces of democracy—because, "United we stand, divided we fall." We wish to go back to Western Canada and say to our friends there: "There has been no desire to sit down with a self-satisfied air and say 'it is done, we will go no further'; our friends are desirous of meeting us and of uniting with us so that the forces of the common people of Canada shall be protected both East and West."

Ladies and gentlemen, the one great hope that I have in my life is to see the Liberal party continues to occupy the proud position that it has always occupied, to hear it spoken of with reverence by our friends in the East as well as by those in the West. The standby of Liberalism is that it has always been in the fight for the common people. Let us never depart from that stand. If the adoption of that principle shall be the result of our deliberations, then there will be no division of the democratic forces of Canada, and the Liberal party will lead in the future as it always has led in the past

I know that you are not desirous of listening to long speeches this warm afternoon. Just let me say in conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, that what I have intimated to you is the earnest desire of we who come from the West. No matter who may be our leader, we are satisfied that if your platform is right we can go back to our people satisfied, feeling that the best interests of the whole of the people of Canada have been safeguarded.

HON. MR. MURRAY: I now ask Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M.P., to address this audience in French and in English.

MR. ERNEST LAPOINTE having spoken in French, proceeded in English as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I suppose it is impossible for me to refuse to accede to the request of Mr. Chairman to say a few words in English.

Let me say first that it is a great privilege, a great honour, to be called upon to address such a gathering, composed as it is of the representatives of all the progressive forces of Canada, the members of the great Liberal party.

Between men who have not met before, and to whom a great event is the only occasion of gathering together, there may be a bond which is stronger than the bond created by daily intercourse; it is the bond created by similarity and unity of ideas, aspirations, and ideals.

We are met here for a double purpose. We are met first to select a leader to replace the great Canadian statesman whom we Liberals, especially the young Liberals, had learned to look upon as the father of the nation. We, who have studied our political doctrines under him, shall endeavour never to forget the great lessons of tolerance, justice and moderation which he taught us during his lifetime. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the leader of a great democratic party, and it is fitting that his successor should be selected, not only by the parliamentary members of the party, but by the democracy, by the Liberals of Canada.

The choice of a leader is a most important thing. After all, however progressive may be a platform and a legislation, they are mere words, they are dead letters, until a living agency comes and puts life into them and executes them as they ought to be executed. I will go to the extent of saying that a legislation or a programme are no better than the man who is called upon to administer them.

Our second purpose is to formulate a policy. The great cataclysm through which we have passed has been the cause of grave and serious problems, economic, social, and labour problems. It is the duty of the Liberal party to study these questions and to try to deal with them in a progressive way. The young Liberals of Canada—and you will permit me to say that I consider that I am still one of them—shall not be satisfied with any reactionary platform, under however progressive a ticket it may be. Our system of taxation must be transformed in a radical way. The payment of taxation is a duty which every citizen owes to society; it is a sort of compensation or price for the benefits which he derives from society, and he must pay in proportion to the benefits and advantages which he receives, and to the degree of influence he exercises in the government of the country.

But the tax which is the means of enhancing the price of the necessaries of life is a poor tax, is a bad tax. A tax which takes something from the poverty of the poor and has the effect of adding something to the wealth of the rich is a bad and nefarious tax. We must try to free the necessaries of the poor and tax further the superfluity of the rich.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have to fight against an arbitrary and absolute government which does not care much for the democracy and what it stands for. This government, which is the fruit, the product, of the nefarious War Time Elections Act, does not represent to-day—it never represented—the normal majority of the Canadian people. The Canadian nation reflects itself in the Canadian Parliament as if it were, to use a French expression, by means of a broken looking glass. It is, perhaps, on account of that fact that we see everywhere a wave of unpopularity, which is always growing, and which surrounds our Ministers here at Ottawa. They have for the last twelve months been staggering between two factions, leaning now to one side and now to the other, reeling sometimes from a blow given from the radical West, and another time from a blow coming from Tory Ontario, sweeping back and forth

like a deck cargo in a storm, awaiting with a mixture of regret and indifference the ultimate fate which always befalls all unnatural associations.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Newton Wesley Rowell may sing a love song before the country; their days shall not be long. I read the other day, with a good deal of enjoyment, a letter sent by our friend, Mr. Rowell, to a gentleman named Mr. Davidson, concerning this Convention and the policy of the Liberal party of Ontario. Mr. Rowell, who has to remain with the Union Government, because he has no other place to go, has advised the Liberals of Ontario to imitate his example. That reminded me of an old fable which I read when I was in college, in Æsop; I think the great Lafontaine had the same fable. It is a story of a fox which had lost its tail at the battle, and which gathered a mass meeting of its fellow foxes and tried to induce them to cut off their own tails also. The fabulist goes on to say that the animal had to continue to struggle for life hopelessly and painfully tailless, but the others did not do likewise. I am afraid that Newton Wesley Rowell will have the same fate.

Ladies and gentlemen, the best bulwark against Bolshevism in this country is Liberalism and the principles which it stands for. Bolshevism does not come into existence as the product of spontaneous generation; it is a product of despotic absolutism. In Russia it was Czarism which was the father of Bolshevism, and I do not hesitate to say that if Nikolai Lenine and Trotsky had to select the leaders of the Canadian people for the purpose of achieving their ends, they would select no others than Borden, Meighen and Rowell. All Canadians who love their country, all Canadians who wish that this beautiful Canada of ours shall be spared the violence of revolutionary changes, should wish godspeed to the reorganized forces of Liberalism which are united to-day for political action.

The Tory party—or the Unionist party; it is the same thing—the Tory party will try to rule again by its former tactics of dividing Canada. As between East and West, as between Ontario and Quebec, they will raise again the old cries of religious and racial prejudice. Ladies and gentlemen, if Canada were united, if the old rancours and antipathies were wiped off and disappeared from this country, the Tory Canadian party would be dissolved.

All the Liberals I know—and I know a good many of them—are Liberals because they love somebody or something; a Tory is usually a Tory because he hates somebody or something.

We must have a united Canada; we must have a united Canada for the good of the Country—even as good political policy. We must rebuke and keep away from extremes; not only because an extreme in itself is a positive evil, but because each extreme always invites its opposite extreme at the other end. We must have union in this country, and to accomplish it we cannot do better than to follow the advice and stand by the principles advocated by our late lamented leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Gentlemen, I love the Liberal party. I have always been a Liberal; I hope always to be a Liberal. I hope that my party shall never do anything which will prevent me from saying with Macaulay: "As long as there is a shred of the old banner flying, by that banner I, at least, will stand."

I thank you.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am now going to call upon Premier Norris of Manitoba.

Hon. T. C. Norris (Premier of Manitoba): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, after listening to the inspiring address which has just been delivered by the gentleman who is qualified to speak in the two tongues, it is rather difficult for a westerner to entertain this splendid audience. However, I appreciate the opportunity which is afforded me of saying a few words to this gathering of Liberals from all parts of Canada.

I am glad to have the opportunity of joining hands with Liberals from all over the Dominion. When I look into the face of this great audience and reflect upon the distance over which they have travelled to get here and the efforts that they have put forth to attend the Convention, I see in these things an indication that some great question is at stake, and that the people of Canada, especially the Liberals, are alive to the situation.

Canada stretches over and covers more than half of the North American continent; our interests are diversified; Canada is a difficult country to govern successfully. A spirit of get together is required; good judgment must be exercised; there must be a willingness to co-operate on the part of the different portions of Canada, if we are to succeed.

About twenty-six years ago the Liberals were called together in the same great cause, and the people of Canada demanded that they lay down some policy that would relieve the people from the distress under which they were suffering. As a result of that Convention the Liberal party came into power in 1896 and gave us the splendid, progressive administration that has been mentioned already on this platform.

Canada is passing through a crisis; we are facing the most important crisis in our history, and it is up to the Liberals of Canada again to evolve a policy that will help us out. Canada has passed through one of the most trying experiences in its history—indeed, the most trying. We have just got through with the war; the part Canada has played in the war has placed her name high up on the list of nations. We are no longer a dependency. The part Canada has played in the war, the reputation which our Canadian soldiers have made for themselves, the work which the good women of Canada have done, makes us all proud to be Canadians.

Now the aftermath of the war is here, and the problems that present themselves to the people of Canada, arising out of the war, are just as difficult to solve as the war problems. A few months ago we would have found it difficult to understand that, but as time passes on and we find ourselves confronted with these difficulties, we realize that they are very difficult, indeed, to solve. The very best thought and the very best brain power of the best people in Canada will be necessary in order to secure the inauguration of a policy that will be effective in dealing with these problems.

The immense debt that was contracted because of the war—a debt which was agreed to by the people of Canada—must be paid. Heavy interest charges must be met every year, and one of the important questions which we have before us is that of evolving a fiscal policy which will make possible the payment of that debt and these charges, and cause the burden to be equally distributed. I am satisfied from what I have heard in that particular that the people of Canada have never been so united, have never been so reasonable, have never been so willing, to get

together and co-operate in that regard as they are at this present Convention. That is the spirit of this delegation, made up of delegates coming from all parts of Canada; and I say that is the spirit of the delegation which has come from Manitoba.

We in the West are sometimes charged with being radical; we have been charged with being too radical. But, Mr. Chairman, let me say this: Canada does require and must have a sanely radical policy. A radical policy does not necessarily mean that extremes should be followed; it does not mean that the people from Eastern Canada or from further West cannot join hands with us. There must be some come and go; there must be some generosity. I say again that the policy that must succeed must be a sanely radical policy, and I am satisfied that if such a policy is presented in the right way, this great Convention will support it. We must get under the load, and the question is, how to do it.

I assume that resolutions affecting the fiscal policy of Canada will be brought before the Convention; I am not going to discuss that matter now. But the question of the fiscal policy of Canada, and the question of the leadership, are the two most important questions which will come before us.

There is another question that I just want to mention in passing, and that is the question of capital and labour. Let me say to this great Convention that the Liberal party of Canada will have to consider that question carefully; if we are to succeed there must be very friendly relations between capital and labour in Canada. If the privileged class or those who have become rich because of special legislation are true to Canada, they must not hold out in these extreme matters, because capital and labour must get closer together. We had that indicated in the city of Winnipeg not long ago; it will be a sorry day for Canada if these divisions continue; if differences prevail as between capital and labour, instead of a spirit of get together. I have no doubt that the Liberal party will take the reins of power before long, and we know that they will be able to do something to relieve this condition of things. I should like to impress on this audience the importance of giving the most careful consideration to the question of capital and labour; it is up to the Liberal party to devise some arrangement, to inaugurate some policy, under which capital and labour will get together.

A Resolutions Committee, 150 strong, from all parts of Canada, is discussing these questions, and many of the subjects which are being considered will be dealt with by the Convention and many, I have no doubt, passed unanimously with little discussion. But some of these matters will be discussed at length in open convention; they should be discussed carefully because we are expecting new things. After the Convention has endorsed the resolutions one by one, they become the policy of the Liberal party, the important point is for us to dissolve this Convention, go back to our people in the different parts of Canada, fully resolved that the Liberal party will carry out its pledges to the people. No matter what our policy may be, progressive or otherwise, if it is not applied when the Liberal party take power, the Liberal party will break faith with the people. Let me say, Sir, that we have arrived at the time in Canada when the people will make the politicians keep their promises. We have arrived at that time, and we may just as well accept the situation; we should so arrange our policy on a sound basis, and then pledge ourselves to carry out that policy to the letter when the proper time comes. If as a result of this Convention we shall cause the people

of Canada to have increased confidence in the Liberal party and its intention to carry out its pledges—and confidence of that kind has been established in times past when Government have kept their pledges—then we shall have done a great work for Canada.

HON. MR. MURRAY: I am going to ask Hon. Mr. Bureau, who was the Solicitor General in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Cabinet, to make a few remarks.

An address in French was then delivered by Mr. Bureau.

MR. BUREAU spoke in English as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: It is a great pleasure for me to say a few words to this Convention in English. This is the first opportunity I have ever had of speaking to the great Liberal party of this country, who have ears to listen to me, eyes to look at me, and lips to spread the good doctrine after they leave this hall.

We are here, ladies and gentlemen, as the trustees of a great trust, as the executors of a will, the purpose of which was to promote good-will among the people, the progress of our country, the prevalence of a spirit of moderation, and a state of happiness among the people. We are here as the executors of the will of the man who incarnated Liberal principles, Liberal ideals, Liberal liberties; the man from whom I obtained my political education and for whom I have fought with great devotion and with great happiness—Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

The conditions of the country generally are not what could be called the best. During the past two years unusual conditions have been created—conditions which we must face and of which we must not be afraid. When Sir Wilfrid decided to convene the great Liberal Convention, he knew that Providence would soon call him from this world. But, true to his principles, true to his doctrines, he was not desirous that he himself or those about him who constituted the parliamentary Liberal party should choose his successor; he decided to convene you, ladies and gentlemen, and that you should say who should be the successor of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He did not desire that the doctrine preached by him should leave the suspicion in the mind of a single man that a coterie or a small group should choose a leader; he desired that the advocacy of the principles of democracy should be not on the lips only, should be not merely in the columns of the relatively few newspapers we have scattered about the country, but that it should be also in the heart of every true Liberal. He desired that the Liberal party should choose a leader, whom we should be proud and happy to follow.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is the first time in the political history of this country that just such a gathering as this has taken place. I see with great pleasure a number of ladies amongst the delegates. This is a new departure from the past. Let me tell you—I am talking to my male friends now—that in this respect we have made a great acquisition. There is a lot of sentiment in politics; there is a lot of sentiment in Liberal politics; because Liberalism is democracy; it is the cause of the masses; it is the promoting of the welfare of the individual, of each mother, of each child, each man in this country, that we are seeking. I do not think that the adherence of the ladies in this country to the Tory party would be of much benefit to them. They are sensitive; they are loving; as my friend, Mr. Ernest Lapointe has said, Toryism is selfish; a Tory is distinguished from a Liberal, as he well said, because a Tory either hates someone or something, while the Liberal loves someone or something.

I, therefore congratulate you, ladies, upon your attendance at this Convention. Your counsels will be precious; your sympathy will help us along; your smiles will encourage us. Political life is a hard life. The great storm carried the fleet all over the seas in 1917—and, you know, it was not a sweet breeze that blew over those of us who came back to Parliament after 1917; the breezes from all the other provinces coming to us were not very encouraging. But we came back, the shattered remnants of a battered force; we rallied around the old chief. One by one he tapped us on the shoulder and said: "Have courage, never give up; you may be defeated, but you are not dead; what you are fighting for is worth your contending for under the most adverse circumstances. Let us be manly; let us make the fight; the people of the country are reasonable; they will come back to their senses." Smiling he said: "Few in the House, but loud." We were all happy, and that shattered army went into the House and made the fight. And, ladies and gentlemen, when I see this gathering; when I see this unanimity of feeling; when I see evidences of a desire to accomplish something, to do something, to go forward and be progressive, how I compare all this with the very mournful days through which we passed after we came back in 1917. And, just when the commander of the army had all his munitions and his batteries ready; just when his soldiers, full of courage and hope, were gathering around him, the hand of God came down and took him away from us. Had it not been for the inspiration afforded by the great principles of Liberalism, that little, shattered army, nearly all of its members from one province, nearly all of one language; that little army which had been despised as was Kitchener's army at the beginning of the war by the enemy; that little army, deprived of its leader, deprived almost of all, would not have had the courage to put up the fight that it did during the last session. If, therefore, Liberalism could be the inspiration to the few that were there, it can be a greater inspiration to the masses who are here.

Ladies and gentlemen, you are the saviours of the country. Inspired by what you have seen and heard here; the West, as Mr. Stewart has well said, united with the East in the spirit of good fellowship, we shall go forward to great things; as an Easterner, I reply to the suggestion of Mr. Stewart that we from the East open our arms to you from the West; we say "Welcome, brothers." In the Liberal party, my friends, there is no East, no West. Every Liberal has but one heart, and it is full of justice, full of love, and, above all, full of the teaching of him whom we have to replace to-day.

Let Canada be united. Let Canada be a great nation; let us close tight the gates of time on the past and let nothing through except the inspiration which may come from him who stands there, ready to direct us into the right path. As Mr. Stewart has so well said: "United we stand, divided we fall." If we are to have a great nation, it is not the platform of the party that comes first; there is no use in having a platform if you have not the men with the heart to put that platform into practice. First, we must be united. Let us be Canadians; let us be Liberals; and we shall have a great country, progressive, prosperous, and happy.

I thank you.

SIR LOMER GOUIN: I will now ask our friend, Mr. Foster, Premier of New Brunswick, to address this meeting.

Hon. W. E. Foster (Premier of New Brunswick): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel more than ever, after listening to the inspiring addresses this afternoon, more particularly after that delivered to us by Mr. Lapointe, that I am in the third class of speakers. There is a class of speaker whose speech is reported in full, there is a class of speaker whose speech is reported in part—I think my press friends will agree with me in this—and then there is the man who "also spoke." After listening to these addresses I fell that I am in the last class. But, when an energetic member of your organization committee came to me a few minutes ago and asked me to say a few words to this gathering, I felt that I should not hesitate to show the people, in my humble way, that there is a place in the Dominion of Canada called New Brunswick. New Brunswick spoke to the people of Canada some few years ago by declaring for a Liberal Government. I want to tell this assembly of Liberals here to-day that at the time we entered upon that contest there were but two members of the Liberal party upon the floor of the Legislative Assembly. By you, ladies and gentlemen, and the splendid delegation which came with me to this great Convention that great victory was achieved. When the Liberal party appeals to the people of Canada again you will find that the same stalwart delegation that accompany me will achieve a victory for the Liberal party of Canada in the province of New Brunswick. I do not make that promise in a boasting way, but I speak with the utmost sincerity when I tell this assembly that when the time comes the province of New Brunswick will be heard from in no uncertain way.

My recent advent into the political life of this country has made it necessary that I should more particularly study those questions which appertain to provincial affairs, and therefore, I would not presume to dictate nor to suggest to this assembly what the platform of the Liberal party should be. Up to this time the questions which have come before me to study have been more particularly appertaining to the local affairs of New Brunswick. I want to say here that these questions appertaining to local affairs are just as important to the people of the Dominion in the various provinces as those great and vital questions which this assembly has been called upon to consider. If there is anything that I have been struck with, Mr. Chairman, it has been the utter disregard shown by the present Government of Canada of the provincial rights of the people of this country. Time and time again this question has arisen and I doubt if we fully realise the great importance of it to the Canadian people. The Dominion Government have hesitated about taking the responsibility of dealing with certain questions because they were afraid that they would sow discord and discontent among some of their supporters. Therefore, they have not failed to impose those questions upon the shoulders of the provincial premiers while, on the other hand, with regard to questions upon which the provincial premiers should have been consulted, the provinces have been disregarded in every respect. There are some important questions which I should like to bring to your attention but I do not feel that the time is at our disposal. But I want to mention just this one question of provincial rights in so far as the Maritime provinces are concerned. Sir Robert Borden promised the people of the Maritime provinces, time and again, that he would settle the question regarding the extension of the boundaries of the several provinces of Canada. He was himself responsible for the passage of an Act extending the boundaries of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec

and handing over to them the resources embraced within the extended territory. He promised the people of the Maritime provinces that the question in relation to provincial boundaries would be settled. He promised our friends from the West that he would settle the great question which to-day is agitating the minds of the people of the West regarding the handing over to them of their natural resources. The people of the provinces have made up their minds to settle this question for themselves and I want to tell you that when the Dominion elections come on the question of provincial rights will be a live one in the different provinces.

My friend, Mr. Bell from Prince Edward Island, is here, having lately achieved a victory in that province, and I read in the paper, although Mr. Bell did not tell me so himself, that one of the issues in Prince Edward Island was that of provincial rights. I believe it will be a live issue when the appeal is made to the people of Canada in the next Dominion election and that the people of the provinces will take these important matters into their consideration when discussing and deciding upon the issues that will be put before them. I do not propose taking up any more of the time of this Convention. You know that politicians are proverbially bashful. I have a habit of being bashful but even politicians from the Maritime Provinces, in cultivating that habit of bashfulness, should also cultivate some of the other characteristics of the politicians of the country and should be able to make appeals to the country with some degree of success. I thank this Convention very much for listening to these few remarks of mine. Looking at this assemblage, it strikes me that we will be able to get back upon common ground. It has been my privilege to associate with those interested in politics in Ottawa for about a week, and this has been practically my first experience in associating with politicians of the standard and type which it has been my pleasure to meet on this occasion. I believe that in this great assemblage there should be that spirit of broad mindedness which is so essential to the winning of the victory which will surely come to the Liberal party. I have had the honour of attending the deliberations of the Resolutions Committee and assisting to draft the resolutions, and I hope that when the delegates get the opportunity to vote upon those resolutions we will be able to get back upon common ground and that we will be able to select as our leader one whom we all know will carry out the hopes and aspirations, which we know would be the hopes and aspirations of our great chieftain if he were here to-day, and who, when our party attains to power, will carry on the government of the country in a progressive, upright, and open way.

When I recall what was achieved by our beloved leader not only in Dominion but in provincial affairs, I am inspired with the ambition to faithfully discharge the trust confided to me so that if, when I go out of office, as I shall at some time, I can go out with a high head and steady step, as did our beloved leader, I will feel that I have at least achieved something in the interest of my country.

Sir Lomer Gouin: We are now to have the pleasure of hearing from Mr. Congdon, ex-member for the Yukon.

Mr. F. T. Congdon (Yukon): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it may be that the name of Sir Wilfrid Laurier has been too frequently alluded to in this Convention, in the opinion of some, but one who followed him from the first day of his accession to the leadership of the Liberal party down to the sad moment when with that perceptive power

and calm decision which characterized him throughout his life he quietly declared "It is finished," cannot appear before an assemblage of this kind without paying some tribute to his revered memory.

"Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon fire is quenched in smoke,
The silver trumpet's voice is still,
Silent the warder on the hill."

I suppose, Mr. Chairman, that no one who has appeared before this assembly can appreciate its unpredecented character more than I. I have had the distinction of carrying the banner of Liberalism in two constituencies in the Dominion of Canada 5,000 miles apart—from Cape Sable to Herschell Island. I understand this country, I think, from one end of it to the other and I do deliberately say that I believe that no greater assembly than I see before me has ever met in the history of civilized nations. You find here representatives of every shade of liberal political opinion and I think you are here simply because you wish to condemn in the most unqualified manner the way in which the Government of Canada has been conducted in the period which has elapsed since 1911. There is no violation of the principles of constitutional government of which the present administration has not been guilty. There has been no violation of the principles of justice with which it cannot be charged. It has been well said that there are three modes of conducting government—one by justice, one by force and one by trumpery and show. This Government has adopted force and this country has had the experience for the first time of its government turning machine guns against Canadian citizens; it has tried show and trumpery and now I believe that the people of the country are prepared to give the Liberal party an opportunity to say whether the country is going to be governed by rules of justice. Some one has said—and it is true of the period that has elapsed since 1911—that men are so accustomed to being ruled by unjust plans that they are shocked when anyone proposes to them just plans. I believe that the period of this government's rule has nearly passed and that the people of Canada want different representatives and want the people of the country to be governed in accordance with just plans.

It is very pleasant, sir, incidentally, at the present time, to find that a man who has displayed great ability in carrying on the affairs of government, whose ability probably has got the country into a greater mess than ever a civilized country was got into before, and who has displayed ingenuity of a most wonderful character in explaining how he did it, my friend, the Hon. Arthur Meighen, confesses that it is time for sane thought and sober common sense in the Dominion of Canada. I think most people will relegate him to that oblivion from which it is a sad thing for the country that he ever emerged. There is only one other principle of government that the Right Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden has put into practice and that principle finds its application in the case of an illustrious Cabinet Minister who is retiring from the Government and in regard to whom the biting inquiry of the Son of Uz seems appropriate:

"Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass? or loweth the ox over his fodder?"

I think that shows, on the part of Sir Robert Borden, an appreciation of the character of some of his Ministers which does credit to his intelligence. It does seem to me an awful thing in a democracy that you may beguile the leaders of your opponents by giving them plenty of grass and stopping their lowing by abundance of their fodder. I do not

think this is a time for long speeches and I thank you for your attention. I trust that this Convention in its deliberations will follow the advice tendered it by my friend Mr. Lapointe and not go to extremes. Be moderate and sane and in that way do the greatest service for Canada.

I am obliged to bow in abasement before my countrymen from the province of Quebec and to express my regret that, like their compatriots, I cannot turn to them and address them with that wonderful facility with which they use either the French or English languages.

SIR LOMER GOUIN: I now introduce Mr. Pardee, the member for West Lambton.

MR. F. F. PARDEE, M.P. (West Lambton): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it appears to me that it is an extremely auspicious thing that now, in the life of the Canadian nation, when a new era is opened up, when new problems are to be decided, when a new portion of the electorate is going to take its share in the Government of the country—I refer to the women—the Liberal party is meeting because I feel perfectly certain by reason of the resolutions that it will adopt and the selection of the man who is to lead this great party, it will give the people of Canada a lead in men and measures which will guide and direct this country to the place to which it righfully belongs. There is no doubt, sir, as has been said here many times to-day, that Canada, if it is to succeed, if it is to occupy that place in the sun which it deserves by reason of the country and by reason of the people who inhabit it, must adopt proper tenets of government and must apply the principles of sane liberalism rightly administered. It is not for us as a Convention to start anything in this time of transition from one period to another in this country except that which will be sane and sound and if there is one motto that we as Liberals should try to carry out at this day it is that legislation and measures must be passed and must be passed only on this ground that the greatest good shall come to the greatest number. Having these views in mind, it does appear to me that if this Convention holds together and stands by the principles of liberalism in every sense of the word, there can be only one good thing come to the country and one good thing come to the great Liberal party and that will be success in both cases. I frankly hope that it will because I believe in Liberalism and in its very essence. I believe that the country needs Liberalism, I believe that the people need Liberalism, I believe that we are going to reach the goal at which we are aiming and it is for every man and woman in this Convention to not only go home and say that the Convention was a success but to give point to the principles enunciated in the resolutions adopted here and to see that we have the right man to represent the right party. It is the bounden duty of every man and woman at this Convention, not as Liberals alone, but as Canadian citizens, to see that the tenets of the Liberal party are inculcated amongst the people with whom you come into contact. It is not only for the leader to inculcate them but every man owes a duty to his party and it is his bounden duty to see that the principles of the Liberal party are distributed broadcast. Your organization must be kept up. It is your duty to see that it is. I am satisfied that from the tenor of this Convention no one need have the slightest doubt that Liberalism is alive, for Liberalism will live and from this day forward a new era shall be created by the great Liberal party which will result in benefit to the Dominion of Canada.

SIR LOMER GOUIN: I will now call upon the Hon. Mr. MacKay of the Alberta Government.

Hon. A. G. MacKay (Minister of Municipal Affairs in the Government of the province of Alberta): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, my good friend, Mr. Pardee, has been referring———

A Delegate: Louder.

Hon. Mr. MacKay: Somebody in the back of the audience says "louder." That gentleman looks sporty enough to know that a good horse never makes his best time in the first half mile. I was just going to take my cue from one thing which was said by Mr. Pardee. We are met here, not as men from the East, not as men from the West, not a men divided by race, creed or geography, but as citizens of Canada. I can only hope that in the future our Parliamentarians will be able to see that the rights of citizenship are observed and that they shall be observed at this particular time when every citizen ought to have his rights and particularly when the time comes to choose those who are to rule over him and to make the laws that he has to obey.

Let me give you an illustration of what I mean in reference to what we have seen in the West. With reference to what I have said on the question of citizenship, I may say that I have seen men who have lived in Alberta for ten or twelve years, men who work 500 or 1,000 acres of land, men of American origin sprung from the same stock as most of the people of this country and men of Scandinavian stock, not by dozens or hundreds, but by thousands, deprived of their right of citizenship. How? By the nefarious Elections Act that we voted under in 1917. We were apprehensive lest in the making of the laws in Alberta citizens would be deprived of that right and that they would be placed in a position of servitude if the right to vote were denied them. We, through the proper authority, the Attorney General of the Province of Alberta, took the opinion of the Justice department of this Dominion as to a certain point, as to what proof men who were not born under the British flag but men who were naturalized British subjects would have to produce in order to get their names on the roll and be allowed to vote. The Deputy Minister of Justice very properly rules that a man who had taken up land in that western country might have his name placed upon the list upon his original certificate of naturalization, but that if he had sent it down to Ottawa and it was locked up in the land office here he could not reasonably be expected to produce it and that if he produced a certified copy he should be allowed to vote. But immediately after we had extracted that ruling from the Justice department there came a direction from Ottawa to the returning officers that they were not to accept a certified copy but that no man could vote unless he produced his original certificate of naturalization. That prevailed all over the West. The law was in such a shape that we could not make any protest, but I may say the documents are on file in a public court than man after man was driven from the polls and not allowed to cast his ballot, although his name was on the list, because he could not produce the original certificate of naturalization which was either lost or locked up in the vaults of the Land department at Ottawa. We placed the evidence before the court and the court said to the deputy returning officer who had followed the instructions of the returning officer, who, in turn had followed the instructions of the electoral supervisor for the Dominion: "You may have obeyed the Government but you did not obey the law and if Parliament rose and left the law in an uncertain shape, it did not leave it to you to change it"—and he mulcted the deputy returning officer $200 and costs or six months in jail. I hope we shall have some declaration as to

the broad question of citizenship and its rights to the end that we may not have a repetition of what we had at the last election—a law as passed by Parliament changed to a law to be treated as they pleased by an unholy and unhallowed combination of freebooters. Such a law did not work well and did not secure an expression of the will of the western people at all events.

I do not intend to take up your time. We are dealing with important problems in the Resolutions Committee. If there was one thing in the life, in the teaching, in every speech delivered by the great leader of the Liberal party who has gone, it was his insistence upon the principle of equality and the duty of the state to secure to every man his rights of citizenship no matter what nationality he belonged to if he came to this country, became naturalized and obeyed the law. If there was one thing which served as a keynote to the life of the great Liberal leader who is gone it was his championship of the principle of equality and fair play to all.

Mr. E. M. Macdonald (Pictou, N.S.): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I think we saw somewhere the last week or two a statement emanating from a gentleman who claimed, not very long ago, to be the very embodiment of Liberal ideas, that this Convention ought not to have been called because it was not representative of the Liberal party. I refer to a gentleman known in Canada as Mr. Newton Wesley Rowell. When we find on this platform eight Liberal premiers from the province of British Columbia to the province of Prince Edward Island, each one of them here with his forces behind him; when we have the leader of His Majesty's Opposition in the province of Ontario in our good friend Mr. Dewart, and when we have this splendid gathering of sturdy Liberals, I think the answer has been given to Mr. Rowell as to whether we have the right to come here or not in the name of the Liberal party.

Mr. Bowlby: What will happen to Rowell now?

Mr. Macdonald: My friend, he has been disposed of by Mr. Lapointe in his story of the foxes, which very aptly describes his condition.

This is an epoch-making occasion in the history of Canada. The greatest statesman of the age has passed away. The vacancy must be filled. Canada requires a successor to carry on his work. We have passed through four of the worst years we have ever seen. Canadian conditions are such that they call for aid, they call for thought, they call for deliberation and our best devotion.

Over in the land of France thousands of our Canadian boys sleep their last sleep. They sleep in the land which they helped to save.

> "Careless alike of the sunshine or the storm
> Each in his windowless palace of rest."

And here in the sad Canadian homes and in the land to which our boys come home maimed and wounded, all the sacrifices of this war will have gone for naught unless there is developed in this country of ours a true national spirit. In the great republic to the south of us, their Civil War was their benediction. There grew up after that great catastrophe a stronger Americanism and a greater pride of country than had ever existed before, and unless we in Canada, and especially we in this Convention, can make it the keynote of our deliberations, that we stand for Canada first, for the development of a national spirit, which means that we stand for our homes, and pledge anew our faith and honour to this, our native land, and unless we look out on the future with hope and determination, we will never realise the prophecy of our great leader that the twentieth century would be Canada's century.

We are faced with another peculiar condition in Canada. For the last two years we have had a combination of public men governing Canada under a system of hypocrisy; no other word can be used. Ever since we have had British institutions in Canada, ever since the British Empire has swayed, to a large extent, the destinies of the world, there has been Parliamentary Government, there has been Party Government, and you cannot have Parliamentary Government unless you have Party Government. True, coalitions have been made from time to time. They have had temporary successes, but if you read the history of our Empire you will realize that at no time did a coalition last for any period, and the consequences to the nation as a result of their administration have always been evil. Canada has found out that the people of the Mother Country found out in years gone by in regard to the result of coalition government. All over this land to-day, if you go to the man at the plow, the man in the workshop, in the city and in the town, you find pessimism, you find a lack of hope. They look to the Liberal party which has gathered here to once more lay the foundation stones upon those great principles by means of which our nation and our Empire have achieved greatness in the past. The Liberal party, as shown by this magnificent gathering, is accepting this commission and, united as it is, with all the elements who in the past two years have taken the course which seemed to them best, it will go out vigorous, strong and fearless, and face the problems which have been imposed upon it and assume its great responsibility.

I want to say one word right here. There were certain gentlemen who went into the Union Government in 1917, and who declared before high heaven that they were the very personification of Liberalism, that they had the highest regard for Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but that they were compelled by a sense of duty to join the Union Government. Mr. Crerar has retired. Those other gentlemen said that as soon as the war was over they would return to the party. Why have they not kept their word? Mr. Nickle, the Conservative member for Kingston, has put Mr. Rowell, Mr. Calder and those other gentlemen who pledged their faith in 1917 in a most peculiar position before the Canadian people. He resigned his seat, because he claimed that he was elected as a supporter of Union Government, and the task of the Union Government, if it ever had any was fulfilled; and he is a Tory, and never claimed to be anything else. What do these men mean by preaching idealism to the Canadian people? These men who stand before all Canadians as deliberately and without justification, failing to keep their plighted word, should at least refrain from pharisaically delivering their sermons with hypocritical unctions as to what Canadian Liberals should or should not do.

But to revert. Why is it that throughout the land to-day there is this lack of hope? Simply because the people realize that there is insincerity, a lack of co-operation, and a total lack of confidence in Canada among the combination who are now governing this country. Coming to power with the greatest pretensions, they have completely failed to live up to them or to furnish any guidance to the people. Opportunism is their motto and ideal. Anything to put aside the difficulty of the day without any regard for the consequences of the morrow. They stand before the country confessedly as men who do not have that unity of feeling and of sympathy necessary to enable them successfully to conduct public affairs.

And we hear the call for aid coming from the homes of the workers. For three or four years, through fear, bred of indecision and timidity, they have allowed the cost of living to menace the land without any action or interference. And after these years of supineness, when the call comes for bread, they give them a stone in the appointment of the two hundred and twenty-fifth commission. Is it any wonder that dissatisfaction and unrest exist throughout the land?

Our financial situation is one of the greatest gravity. Our annual liabilities for interest and other charges have been concealed from the people and will involve the most extreme taxation. During the war the Union combination spent over $350,000,000 for purposes other than the war, which were wholly unnecessary. And in war expenditures, twenty or twenty-five millions were spent for alleged naval purposes and we, from the Maritime Provinces, know it might as well have been thrown into the sea. They have been reckless and profligate in regard to every interest that has been committed to their care and the Canadian people feel that they have been wronged, and look to the Liberal party to lead the way from these conditions and to bring our country back once more to her proper position amongst the nations of the world.

This is a task which the Liberal party must undertake and it will be a serious and patriotic one. We must assume it manfully and confidently. Let us endeavor, in order to attain our end, to bring about conditions whereby the agriculture, the labor, the commerce and the manufactures of Canada are not adversaries but co-mates and partners, and rivals only in the ardor of their patriotism and in the activity of their public spirit.

This gathering is one which has been marvellous in its interest, splendid in its enthusiasm and deep in the desire of every one of its members to so form the party platform, to so agree upon public questions, that we will be able to go from here to our homes and wait and work and fight till the decisive hour comes, and we will be able to tell the Union Government that the people of Canada want them no longer. In those days which will intervene, we will miss the guiding hand of our great leader. His white plume no longer will serve to rally us in the hour of conflict. But now that he is with the ages, he has left us the legacy of heroes, he has left us a memory of a great name and the inspiration of a great example to every one of our friends throughout this country by whom he was beloved all during the time he was in public life. In the Parliament which he adorned, his name will never be mentioned but with homage even by his opponents.

The last of the great public men of the nineteeth century has gone from us, but though, my friends, Sir Wilfrid is gone, the Liberal party lives, and if the Liberal party lives Canada will live. It is our bounden duty as Liberals in the interest of our beloved land to go out with renewed vigor to see to it that this incubus, to the achievement of this end, this hypocritical Union Government be relegated to oblivion. With this accomplished we can confidently rely upon the splendid group of public men who are gathered here to form a government from among the Liberal party who will, as was done in 1896, once more give to Canada a great inspiration and lead our country along the highway of prosperity, to the realization of a splendid destiny.

HON. W. R. MOTHERWELL, (Saskatchewan): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, ever since the inception of this great national Convention in which we are now engaged, and the results of which we expect will be fully consummated tomorrow night, all of us have been looking

forward with great pleasure and expectation to the fruition of the labors of this great gathering. Not one of us but has felt his heart throbs quicken and his pulse tingle at the prospect of a reunited Liberal party after the honest differences of recent years. But, there is always something to take the joy out of life; there is one fly in the ointment. As I have listened to, and have come under the spell and charm of the addresses of my fellow-citizens of French-Canadian origin, I have had only one regret and that is that in my early years I did not learn to speak and understand the French language. That is something that I felt ever since I entered the Convention Hall yesterday morning.

There are two chief and prominent reasons why we have convened in the Capital city of Ottawa. One is to construct a platform for the Liberal party, and the other is to choose a leader. I do not think that the last is the most important, although it has occupied our attention considerably more than any other question. Whether our choice of Leader comes from the West, the old province of Ontario, or the Maritime provinces, I feel confident the winner tomorrow will be the winner of the polls the day after. The platform is the important consideration. The eyes of all Canada are fixed on the conclusions of this Convention and we should be ever conscious of the fact that these conclusions should be sound fundamentally and true to the principles of the past history of the Liberal party.

I would just presume to say one or two words by way of suggestion as to the future, and the same warning has been sounded by Mr. Pardee. It has been said by some persons that a Tory never yields up power until he is forced to do so. If that be true we will have no election for three years. But, do not be too sure of that; no man will know when Mr. Calder and his colleagues will throw down the gauge of battle. The date is not going to be placarded on the bill boards of the city; and no undue warning will be given when to expect the sound of the battle-cry. That is the prerogative of the Government. The election will be brought on, not when it suits you or me, Mr. Chairman, but when it suits them. Therefore, it lies at our door to be ready no matter when the call to arms is sounded. Whatever conclusions are arrived at here in regard to the platform, the leadership, or anything else, when we go forth to our respective homes, we must stand by these conclusions to the last ditch. There is no use of coming here, harmonising our differences and then going away and everybody having a platform and a leader of his own. Do the best you can to impress your views upon the great body of this Convention and, having done that, stand by the net result. There is another thing that I would suggest and that is that no platform, no matter how good it is, will carry itself into effect. Every man and woman here who has had a part in this Convention must be a real missionary to go forth and proclaim the principles of Liberalism here enunciated. We cannot do that by crawling under the barn and whispering our views from mouth to mouth. It is necessary that we should have full confidence in our own platform and leader if we are to instil similar confidence in other people. We must if necessary sound forth a clarion note even from the housetops and then people will stop to listen because they will see that we, ourselves, are in earnest.

I have talked so much since I left home that my voice sounds almost like a buzz saw. Lest I may have to talk a little later on the tariff question I will stop now and return to my duties on the Resolutions Committee.

Sir Lomer Gouin: I call on Hon. Frank Oliver, an ex-member of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government, to address the Convention.

Hon. Frank Oliver (former member for Edmonton, Minister of the Interior in the Liberal Administration): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is certainly a matter of pride and pleasure to everyone claiming the name of Liberal to attend this Convention and see these men and women gathered from the most distant parts of this great Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, even from the Yukon—gathered here for the purpose of giving form and expression to the principles in which they believe.

The idea has been sedulously cultivated by those who are opponents of our principles that in this great Dominion of Canada there is of necessity a division of interests, and therefore, of opinion, between the East and the West. I take it that the great purpose of this Convention is to demonstrate to Canada and to the world that Liberalism is the same, stands for the same ideals, from Prince Edward Island to the Yukon; and that those who give their adherence to the principles of Liberalism by naming themselves as members of the Liberal party are of one mind as to the best means of advancing the welfare of our nation.

It has been asserted that the question of the tariff is dividing Canada and would divide the Liberal party. Let me speak for a moment on particulars rather than generalities. Let me say that as a western man, as one who has lived in the West and seen it from the beginning, I am not here to give adhesion to any idea that would have the effect of dividing Canada or the Canadian people. It is national Liberalism for which we stand, and we believe that the principles of Liberalism can be successfully applied to this country from Cape Breton to Vancouver Island; I will go further and say, ladies and gentlemen, that these principles are just as good, just as effectual, just as much to be supported, in war as in peace.

The interests of the western farmer and the eastern manufacturer are said to be a great point of contention. I am from the West; I am going to give you a western point of view, and perhaps you will find that it is applicable in the East as well. Canada does not figure largely as a manufacturing country; it is not one of the great manufacturing countries of the world. Why is it not? Do our people lack in industry, intelligence, application? Have we not amongst us abundance of ability in the direction of industry? We have. Is it not a fact that in that which is the very foundation of labour, that is to say food, we produce the greatest export surplus proportionate to our population of any country in the world? Is it not a fact that we have the most magnificent water powers in the world, in these days of water and electrical power? Are not the centres of our population situated close to the seaboard, where they have every advantage of ocean navigation to carry their products to the four corners of the world? Then, why is Canada not a great manufacturing country? Our people leave our own country and go across the line. The Canadian artisan and the Canadian manager are in demand in every country in the world. Why then, is it, that in his own country he cannot compete with the world? There must be something wrong with the system under which we manage our affairs, and what is wrong is that during a couple of lifetimes the managers of our manufacturing industries have worshipped the fetish of protection; they have manufactured for the tariff, not for the consumers of the world. Just another word. There was a time when the quarrel

was between the western farmer and the eastern manufacturer; when the manufacturer of the East would call his employees around him and say to them: "Those western farmers want to cut down the tariff, and if they do so they will shut this factory up and you will be out of a job." But to-day the condition is such that the manufacturer calls his men around him and finds that they complain not of the western farmer, but of the cost to them of every article they require which is made by their fellow artisans, their neighbours in the same country.

This idea of protection of manufacture has been carried to such a point in this country under the administration of our present government that it has defeated itself; it is the principle of protection that, so far as meeting the needs of the world is concerned, has put Canada, instead of in the front ranks, in the rear ranks of the manufacturing countries of the world. We have no wish to do any harm to anybody, but this country is at a crisis and something must be done. Profiteering has gone to such a point that it is the eastern employee who is liable to take the matter into his own hands. It is not possible for the Government we have to-day to deal with this question; the Liberal party must deal with the trade situation, must establish industry on a sound basis, and enable Canada and the manufacturers of Canada to compete, not in the market of eight millions, within our own borders, but in the great markets of the world. That is the purpose that we have in view; that is why we ask for the support of Liberal principles, for the support of the principle of a low tariff—not because we have any hostility to any form of industry in Canada, but because it has been proven that the principle of protection is restrictive and destructive and must be changed if Canada is to achieve that pre-eminence in her eastern manufactures that she has achieved on her western plains.

We in the West are in the interior of the continent; we meet the competition of the world. The railroad freights are against us; but if we cannot meet the competition in the markets of the world we cannot do business, and because we have had to do that we have accommodated ourselves to conditions, and we are able to do it. I believe that there is enough industry, enough energy, enough good management amongst the people of eastern Canada, to enable them to put our manufacturing industries of Canada on an export basis instead of on a protective basis. That is what we are here for, ladies and gentlemen. It will be a great work when it is accomplished; I am sure that every man and every woman here is prepared to aid in that work.

Hon. Mr. Murray: It is our purpose, ladies and gentlemen, to meet this evening at eight o'clock, but before we adjourn we are going to propose a resolution in respect to the Tariff. This is an important resolution, perhaps the most important which will engage the attention of this Convention. I am getting somewhat autocratic in my old days, and in the debate upon the tariff resolution we must confine ourselves absolutely to certain rules. A great number of gentlemen may want to express their opinions in respect to that resolution. Nobody should be precluded from discussing the matter, but time is valuable; and as I understand the rules, the mover of the resolution will have fifteen minutes and the seconder ten minutes; and those who submit amendments or make remarks in respect to the resolution should confine their addresses to speeches of not more than ten minutes—preferably as near five minutes as they can make them.

Before we proceed with the tariff resolution, a resolution will be moved by Miss Isabel C. Armstrong, of London, and seconded by Mrs. H. D. Petrie, of Hamilton.

Conservation of Life and Health

Miss Armstrong: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: from the lips of orators, statesmen, politicians, public speakers, all our lives, we have heard this statement, when the speaker has got worked up to a proper frenzy of oratory, "The citizen—the boy or the girl—is the nation's greatest asset." In our recollection they have immediately forgotten about it, as soon as the echo has died away from the ring of sincerity. Immediately they have turned their attention to the standardizing of the physical well-being of pigs, and calves, and horses, and other animals; to the conserving of forests; to raising the standard of agriculture—which is well and fitting and in its place, as it ministers to the welfare of the citizenship. But from a federal standpoint, they have entirely overlooked the conservation of the life of that citizenship.

As a woman attending the first Convention which women of Canada have been privileged to attend in the role of electors, and representing the viewpoint of a large number of women, I may say that we come here to learn, to sit at the feet of the Gamaliels of the Liberal party and learn of the tariff, to learn of the solution of the labor problem, to learn of the great questions that seem to have absorbed the attention of the men. As women, however, we have come to the Convention with a clearly-defined idea, and that is that the citizen is the basis of the nation's wealth; that the citizen is more important even than the production of wealth; and that what affects the welfare of the citizen and the life of the citizen is of primary importance.

I am going to tell you a story which was the story, during the past year, of every city, and town, and hamlet, and country place in this Canada of ours. Last fall, during the months of October and November, the churches were closed in the city in which I live. The schools were closed; the theatres were closed and every place of amusement. Business houses that were kept open were literally dead. Business was paralyzed, with the exception of the business of the doctor and the undertaker. What was the reason? The citizenship was sick; the citizenship was laid low by the great plague of the influenza epidemic. There were no laborers and capitalists in that day; you might say that there was neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free; all were combined in two great armies—those who were sick, and those who were fighting the disease. We realized then, as we had been learning to realize during the war, that life was the thing that counted more than anything else, not only from a humanitarian, but also from an economic standpoint. What was the cry when the great war broke out? Men, and still more men. What was the question that was asked? Are these men physically efficient? Do they measure up to a standard which fits them to take their place in the army and fight the battles of the Empire? Those who were not considered fit were rejected. If we needed strong men to fight the battles of Empire, do we not need strong men and strong women to fight the battles of peace?

We have been hearing for many months that the battles of reconstruction are more serious even than the battles which have so successfully ended. During the great war there was much grief over the wastage of life on the battlefields, but the wastage of life in Canadian civilization

was even greater. I think the casualties in our army amounted to 75,000—75,000 of our noble army of 450,000 engaged in the combat; 75,000 men who will not come back. In four years, 16 per cent of the men of Canada's army laid down their lives in the great war; in one year, in the province of Ontario, one in every ten of the children born dies before it reaches the date of its first birthday.

When a survey of conditions in the city in which I live was made at the time of our first Child Welfare Campaign, a year ago last winter, we felt it not less than a crime that, in the year 1916, 18 of every 100 children born died, the majority of them from preventable causes. Dr. Hastings, of Toronto, speaking some time ago, said that the man who, walking along, saw a little child tied to a railroad track, with the obvious purpose of having the train run over it and killing it, and yet who went back and lighted his pipe and smoked it until the tragedy was over, was just as guilty as the man who tied the child to the rails. In Canada, as a nation, we have been very much in the position of the man who sat back and waited for the express to come along and kill the child. We have not done anything; it is in what we have omitted to do as a nation that we have been at fault.

There is the question of immigration, from the standpoint of physical welfare of the nation. This involves the necessity of enforcing laws so rigorously that disease shall not be brought into our country to lower the standard of the physical efficiency of our citizenship.

Yesterday, reference was made to the fact that Sir Wilfrid Laurier found Canada a colony and left it a nation; yet what self-respecting nation is not in a position to have exact knowledge in regard to the welfare of its citizens? When we want to do something in regard to public health and child welfare here, we cannot send to a bureau at Ottawa for educational literature.

Up to the present, we have been sending to a bureau at Washington for the information we desire and cannot get in our own country.

Closely associated with the question of public health and conservation of life is the question of registration. The man who chased around to get his marriage certificate or birth certificate while he evaded the call of the Military Police was the man who realized the value of registration. The statement has been made more than once that it is much easier to lose track of a baby in this country—one of the potential sources of wealth to the state—than it is to lose sight of an automobile. An automobile is registered, and you can always trace it up.

As a woman member of the Western Ontario Liberal Association, I believe that the great question of the day is not the tariff, because the tariff is important only as it affects the welfare and the life of the citizenship; the tariff is made for the citizens, not the citizens for the tariff. The great issue, in the opinion of the women at least, is that the Liberal party shall place in its platform a plank, pledging itself to support vigorous, aggressive, public health measures with a view to conserving life and raising the standard of the physical efficiency of the citizens.

I have much pleasure in moving the following resolution:

"WHEREAS the Great War and the greater epidemic have taken an appalling toll of Canadian life, and

"WHEREAS human life and physical efficiency are the nation's greatest assets, and

"WHEREAS the conservation and improvement thereof should be the country's first care:

"THEREFORE, this gathering of Liberals in convention assembled pledges itself to a vigorous prosecution of the measures best calculated to conserve the life and improve the physical standard of our Canadian citizenship."

MRS. PETRIE (Hamilton): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, in seconding this motion I do not think it is necessary to enlarge upon what Miss Armstrong has placed before you. For the last twenty-five, thirty, or thirty-five years, the women of Canada have been working along these lines, pleading with the politicians for child welfare planks in the party platform. Now we have the franchise; we are not going to plead any longer.

Are you going to force the Liberal women; are you going to force me, a follower of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, to vote for Union Government or join united women voters? So, if not, we ask that this plank be included in the platform, this plank with regard to child welfare work.

As you understand what is included in child welfare work, I do not think it is necessary that I should say anything more about it. I have very great pleasure in seconding Miss Armstrong's motion.

The resolution was adopted.

THE TARIFF

HON. MR. MURRAY: I am going to ask Hon. George Langley, of Saskatchewan, to move a resolution with regard to the tariff, seconded by Hon. Mr. Veniot, of New Brunswick. I need scarcely say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that this resolution has been the subject of much thought and much careful consideration by the Resolutions Committee.

HON. GEORGE LANGLEY (Minister of Municipal Affairs, Saskatchewan) moved:

"THAT the best interests of Canada demand that substantial reductions of the burdens of customs taxation be made with a view to the accomplishing of two purposes of the highest importance: *First*—Diminishing the very high cost of living which presses so severely on the masses of the people; *Second*—Reducing the cost of the instruments of production in the industries based on the natural resources of the Dominion, the vigorous development of which is essential to the progress and prosperity of our country.

"THAT, to these ends, wheat, wheat flour, and all products of wheat; the principal articles of food; farm implements and machinery; farm tractors, mining, flour and saw-mill machinery, and repair parts thereof; rough and partly dressed lumber; gasoline, illuminating, lubricating and fuel oils; nets, net-twines and fishermen's equipments; cements and fertilizers, should be free from customs duties, as well as the raw materîal entering into the same.

"THAT a revision downwards of the tariff should be made whereby substantial reductions should be effected in the duties on wearing apparel and foot-wear, and on other articles of general consumption (other than luxuries) as well as on the raw material entering into the manufacture of the same.

"THAT the British preference be increased to 50 per cent of the general tariff.

"AND the Liberal party hereby pledges itself to implement by legislation the provisions of this resolution when returned to power."

MR. LANGLEY spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, my task in moving this resolution has been considerably simplified by the remarks of the Hon. Frank Oliver. Mr. Oliver pointed out to you the broad basis upon which we might regard the lowering of the tariff as beneficial, not only to the West but equally so to the East. I may say, Mr. Chairman, that had it been only beneficial to the West I would have been just as willing to move it, because I am a western man. I have been a resident of the West for twenty-seven years, and my occupation has been that of cultivating the land.

I have held an opinion which I will express without hesitation to this great Convention—an opinion which I expressed to Sir George Foster's commission when it held a meeting in my own capital city of Regina, and that is that the farmers of the West have borne the burdens of the tariff but have received none of its benefits. That was the opinion which was largely held in the West up to that time, and which to-day is endorsed unanimously by the West. We have had a peculiar condition of things there, Mr. Chairman. From the inauguration of the province I have been a member of the Legislature of Saskatchewan. Practically every year that Legislature has passed a low tariff resolution. We have never been opposed on principle by the Conservative members of the legislature; we have been opposed on shuffling grounds, which I am almost compelled to say are more or less the stock in trade of Conservatives—on the ground that the matter was a federal matter, and that the provincial legislature had nothing to do with it.

But last year, for the first time, the Conservative opposition gave up its contention along that line, and joined with us in making the low tariff resolution a unanimous one. That is how the thing stands in the West. The opinion there is an undivided opinion; we are unanimoulsy in favour of lowering the customs tariff.

In these days other influences have been brought to bear upon the conditions of the nation, and there is thus brought to our assistance an enormous auxiliary.

The preamble of the resolution reads:

> "THAT the best interests of Canada demand that substantial reductions of the burdens of customs taxation be made with a view to the accomplishing of two purposes of the highest importance."

And it puts them this way:

"*First*—Diminishing the very high cost of living which presses so severely on the masses of the people."

Nobody has any doubt about that. We all have to buy the necessaries of life. Although at times we are inclined to complain of the high wages that the working classes are getting, I am positively at my wits' end to know how, under present conditions, a man with a wife and family can manage to keep them decently at all, having regard to the prices they have to pay for everything that they require. There is that condition which we have to face and deal with.

I do not think that the tariff is the cause of all of it, but I am quite certain of this: that the tariff is the cause of a considerable part of it.

The great object which the economist has in view is that the cost of production should have some relation to the cost of the goods produced when they are purchased by the consumer. We of the West are peculiarly situated—I do not want to over-emphasize it—but it is a fact that we are peculiarly situated. As was pointed out by Hon. Mr. Oliver, we

live in the middle of this vast continent. If I went from my home to the Pacific Ocean, I should have to travel 1,100 miles, and if I had to go to the Atlantic Ocean, I had to travel from 1,400 to 1,500 miles. I laughingly told my friends in the Resolutions Committee that you good people from Ontario, I sometimes think, do not appreciate our position. And by the way, I am pleased to see so many of you here, and I am pleased to see so many of you coming from the ancient, historic province of Quebec, because I am a great admirer of the province of Quebec and the people who live there; I say that with the more emphasis because I need not tell you that I am English-born. But as I say, I sometimes think that you good people do not appreciate our position. You get up in the morning and you jump on the train, and in the course of two or three hours you are right here in the capital city—and you do not spend very much money to get here. A good many of the delegates from Saskatchewan and Alberta are not present at this Convention, Mr. Chairman, because our harvest is going on so rapidly that our farmers cannot get away and could not attend this Convention, although they had undertaken to come. But the small company of men and women who are here from the province of Alberta and Saskatchewan have spent nearly as much money in order to get to this Convention as has been spent by all this large bunch of ladies and gentlemen who have come from Ontario.

I do not know whether or not, before you go away, you will be inclined to divvy up with us and equalize the thing; that is a matter that I am not going to dwell upon at present. I simply wanted to point out to you the peculiarity of our geographical position.

To the cost of everything we buy there have to be added the heavy costs of transportation, and from the price that we get for our products at all times have to be taken away the cost of conveying them to the ends of the earth. I want you, gentlemen from Quebec, in order that I may maintain my admiration for your province, to keep that thing in mind; that is one of the things that affects us in the prairie West.

I can assure you that the prices of the things that are indispensable to us to-day have gone up sky-high, and we in the West believe that the customs duties have a good deal to do with this condition of things, and that is why we are all low-tariff people. We have an interest in a good many things, but, above all, I think we have an interest in seeing that the customs tariff is considerably lowered.

By the way, Mr. Chairman, we are not inclined to forget that while we are exclusively an agricultural community in the prairie West, in the large premier province of Ontario you are very largely a manufacturing community. We bear that in mind; consequently, while we in the West are practically all free traders—of course I should be a free trader anyhow; any man who followed Mr. Gladstone for twenty years, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier for seven and twenty is hardly likely to be anything in theory but a free trader—and I may add that it has been a source of great satisfaction and gratification to me that in the election of 1917 I stood by the old leader.

HON. MR. MURPHY: I may mention that this gentleman was the chairman of Sir Wilfrid's meeting at Regina.

HON. MR. LANGLEY: It would have taken a great deal more than what was immediately an issue in that election to make me transfer my fealty from this man (pointing to the large portrait of Sir Wilfrid Laurier) to the other man whose name I will not mention with his. I told the large audience that Sir Wilfrid addressed at the city of Regina that that

was the reason why I stood by the old colors. Positively, I did not care twopence about the conscription issue. The condition of the Empire demanded that we should do everything we could, but I was certain that under that man (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) nothing that we could do would be left undone.

A DELEGATE: They thought a Liberal could not win the war; they did not know history.

HON. MR. LANGLEY: They thought a lot of silly things; and now they are beginning to learn other things as well.

I was talking to my friend, Mr. Calder, when I was in Ottawa the last time, and he said to me: "George, how is political feeling in the West?" I said: "Jim, do you want me to tell you frankly?" "Why," he said, "Of course you and I, as old friends, can talk that way." I said, "Well, the tide is running steadily against your Government." And I said: "Would you like to know how it is in regard to you personally?" He said: "Well, let me have it." "Well," I said, "the tide is running in the same way, but I want to take the word 'steadily' out."

I was saying before this digression, Mr. Chairman, that it was hardly possible that a man who had followed two such political leaders as Gladstone and Laurier could be anything but a free trader. We have set our theories on one side; we have recognized that the conditions in Ontario and in that portion of Quebec, which is a manufacturing community, must be considered as well as the farmers in the West; and consequently, we are not asking for free trade, but we are asking that the tariff should be materially reduced.

You will notice that this tariff resolution, in the second paragraph, makes provision for placing a much larger number of articles on the free list. The second paragraph is not quite so definite as I wanted to make it in the Resolutions Committee. Here we pledge our party, the Liberal party—we are the Liberal party; do not make any mistake about it, notwithstanding what may be said by the three or four leaders that went from their midst into the Union aggregation.

In England I was an active worker under my grand old leader after we had the split in the Liberal party on the Home Rule question, and I could tell you the names of our leaders who left us and joined the union aggregation. We are better off here than they were there, for in England not one of the leaders ever came back. But the voters came back and swamped the whole aggregation. Yes, we need not trouble very much about those who have left us.

We started out with the expectation of getting a good deal in this resolution, and we have got a good deal. I want to see this Convention carry the resolution and carry it unanimously. The resolution does not say, no resolution could say, all that there is to be said on the question of the tariff, and no doubt there are things on the tariff that our old friend the Premier from our western province (Hon. John Oliver), whom, I am sure, every man and woman in this meeting is glad to see here, wants to have included in this resolution, because he told us so in the Resolutions Committee. I agree with all he wants to include, but you cannot say everything in a resolution.

Here you have a resolution definitely pledging the Liberal party to a certain line of action, and beyond that we must trust the leaders of the Liberal party. Of course, we are pledging them to go quite a long way in order to get them used to it; but after they have accomplished this, we expect them, having got their hands in, to do quite a good deal more,

and if they don't they will hear from the West, there is no doubt in the world about that.

I am a man rapidly approaching the age of seventy years; I have worked in the Liberal ranks for over fifty years; it is fifty-one years this month since I first worked actively in an English election, the election of 1868. Then, for the first time, Mr. Gladstone was returned as the Prime Minister of Great Britain. I have worked in every election I could since, always as a Liberal; and the only fault I have had to find with Liberal governments is that they were never Liberal quite enough to suit me.

Well, Mr. Chairman, I do not think I need say anything more; I believe I have almost exhausted my fifteen minutes. I am reminded of an interview I had with Sir Richard Cartwright in 1909. I knocked at the door and his secretary went in and when he came out he said: "Now, Mr. Langley, Mr. Cartwright can spare you just three minutes." I went in and had the three minutes' interview, and I wound the web around the old gentleman in a conversation about England and the great men that he admired and I had known; and I said to him at last: "I think, Sir Richard, that the three minutes is nearly up." "Yes," he said, "It is, Mr. Langley—you have been here just three-quarters of an hour." Now, I do not want to do anything like that on this occasion.

I am delighted to meet this large convention and to look into the faces of you ladies and gentlemen. I will tell you what I said out on the green only yesterday. I was sitting beside a friend of mine and I said: "I have come from a portion of Canada where a number of people tell us that all the politicians of both parties are rotten; but looking at these ladies and gentlemen walking and sitting around here, one does not get the impression that they are really a rotten bunch." I have come to the conclusion that our newspapers are guilty of the most outrageous things in dealing with the men who take part in public matters and those who support them in doing so.

I move this resolution with very great pleasure, and I ask this Convention to pass it unanimously, and anything else in addition to it that you feel inclined to pass.

Hon. Peter J. Veniot (Minister of Public Works, New Brunswick): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should have preferred that the task of seconding this resolution had fallen upon the shoulders of someone who could, perhaps, have gone more fully into the tariff question than I am able to do to-day.

I may say, however, that this resolution, as presented to you now, has been fully discussed by the Committee on Resolutions. It was the most important one that was submitted to them; it is the most important, I think, that will be submitted for your consideration. During a period of nine or ten hours, or more, we fully discussed this resolution. Some members of the Committee desired that it should be more specific in its terms; others were of the opinion that a resolution of this nature should do no more than outline the principles of a tariff policy, leaving to the leaders of the party the working out of the details. I may say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that I was at first of that opinion. I thought that we should all have confidence in the leader whom we should select, as I knew that we all had confidence in those who would be his Lieutenants. But times have changed in Canada. The great war has brought about a change, and the brave boys, who during the last four years have been living under conditions entirely different from those of the past,

are determined, when they shall return from the front, that they shall receive absolute and definite assurances from the Government of the country. I feel that they are right in taking this view; I feel that these boys, having regard to the sacrifices that they made at the front, should know as definitely and as specifically as it is possible for a government or a leader of a government to lay it down what that government intends to do for the country for which they made such great sacrifices at the front. For that reason, Mr. Chairman, I withdraw any idea that I had of laying before this Convention only the broad principle with regard to the tariff, and you will find that this resolution contains, besides the enunciation of certain broad principles, certain specific principles, certain specific statements.

I hope, as the mover of this resolution said, that it will be accepted unanimously by this Convention. There is no desire on the part of any one supporting the resolution to prevent anyone from having an opportunity of expressing his views or of moving an amendment to the resolution.

The *Montreal Star* predicts that the Liberals will attempt to frame a tariff resolution to please everybody; and it makes a comparison with Noah's ark. I do not think that the Liberal party would so far forget itself as to try to adopt a tariff platform to please everybody; that would be an impossibility. The best that the Liberal party can do, the greatest that can be demanded of it, is to adopt a tariff resolution that will reasonably meet the conditions under which we are living in Canada to-day. The *Montreal Star* compares what the Liberal party may do along tariff lines with Noah's ark; in this connection I may point out that the barque upon which Sir Robert Borden is embarked is a small one, but small as it is its occupants cannot find any entry into the Liberal ark of Canada.

There are some who contend that the lowering of the tariff will injure the industries of the Dominion. There are some that contend that the lowering of the tariff will reduce the revenue of our country, and that having regard to the conditions brought about by the war and to the fact that Canada is in need of a large revenue, it would be disastrous to reduce our tariff at the present time. There are even some Liberals who hold that view, and to those especially allow me to say a word. Allow me to take them back in imagination to 1896, the time of the introduction of the Fielding tariff. Notwithstanding what our Conservative friends may say as to there being very little difference between the Fielding tariff and the National policy, we know that there was a considerable reduction in the tariff of 1896 as compared with that of previous years. And notwithstanding that reduction, ladies and gentlemen, the revenues of Canada increased by leaps and bounds; so much so that when the Liberals were defeated in 1911 the revenues of Canada had soared to such a figure that the like had never been known before in the history of our country. This goes to show that the reduction of the tariff when properly applied does not prevent an increase of the revenue.

You have a concrete example of this in the Post Office department of the Dominion. When the Liberals came into power you were paying three cents for each letter, yet every year the Post Office department, under the Conservative Government, was a sink-hole of deficits. When the Liberals introduced the reduced rate of two cents, the revenues of the department increased so that within three or four years after the Liberals

took office there was a surplus of thousands of dollars instead of a deficit, as was the case under the Conservative regime when the three-cent rate was operative. That is a concrete demonstration that a reduction of the tariff along proper lines and under proper conditions, and properly administered, will not injure the revenue of the Dominion of Canada.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wish to refer to a statement made in the Committee on Resolutions, that the Conservative party might attempt to steal our ammunition on the tariff. In the month of May last, just previous to the introduction of the tariff bill in the House of Commons, I had occasion to visit the city of Ottawa, on business connected with the Department of which I am the head in the Government of New Brunswick. During that occasion, I met several of the Unionist Liberals, members of the Union Government Cabinet. I discussed several questions with them, among others, the tariff. If they ever should attempt to accuse the Liberal party of wishing to be sectional in dealing with the tariff, let it be remembered that on that occasion, in the month of May last, Sir Thomas White, acting Prime Minister, was prepared in order to retain the Liberal Unionists in his Cabinet, to introduce a tariff along sectional lines in order to please the different sections of Canada. I am glad that the Committee on Resolutions have made this resolution so broad that the charge of sectionalism cannot be made against the Liberal party. If there is one thing above everything else that the Liberal party should avoid, it is the adoption of any policy which may tend towards sectionalism. Let us be broad-minded. Liberal principles are built upon a broad basis; let us, in our deliberations, be broad-minded.

May I digress a moment; because I may not have the opportunity of addressing this Convention again? When I speak of broad-mindedness in the Liberal party I do not refer to the tariff only; I refer to the relations that exist in Canada as between the two great races that compose our population. Speaking as a Frenchman from the Maritime Provinces I appeal—although I feel that it is unnecessary—to the English Liberals to be broad-minded. I ask the English Liberals who are listening to me to-day to put forth every effort to sow the seed of accord and harmony when they leave this hall and go to their homes to attempt to explain to the English-speaking people who do not know the French people of this country, as some of you English people do, that there is no more broad-minded people in Canada than those in whose veins runs French blood.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are not looking for racial domination, we have legitimate, honest aspirations such as you English-speaking people have, and God knows that Canada is big enough, and the Liberal party is broad enough, to enable the Englishman and the Frenchman to stand side by side in the times of peace, just as our brave boys stood side by side on the battlefields of Europe, fighting for freedom.

I wish to say that I was opposed to conscription. Nothwithstanding the fact that I had my own two sons fighting in the trenches, I did not support conscription; I felt that it was not necessary. I felt that if the government of the day had done its duty and had kept politics out of the war, there would have been no need of conscription in Canada.

My boys tell me that upon the battlefields of France the Englishman never asked if his partner at the left was a Frenchman, or what he was; the Protestant never asked the Catholic at what shrine he adored his God, nor did the Roman Catholic ask the Protestant. There, shoulder to shoulder, fighting in a common cause for the freedom of the world,

the French boy and the English boy stood; French and English blood were commingled upon the same field of battle.

The other day when I saw a returned soldier stand upon this platform and appeal to the people along these lines, I heard him lay down the principle that the returned soldiers are sure to follow, and I feel satisfied in my heart that these boys, now that they are home, will want to have things down as I have suggested. And the aid of the women will be necessary; they are the ones who have the influence; they are the ones who can prevent the spread of this bigotry and these sentimentalities, so to speak. The returned soldiers, therefore, with the aid of the ladies, will see to it that the politicians who raise race or religious cries in Canada shall be politically condemned for all time to come.

Mr. J. A. Fraser (New Glasgow): Mr. Chairman, I wish to give notice that when we resume at eight o'clock it will be my pleasure to move an amendment to some clauses of this resolution.

Hon. Mr. Murray: I assume, from this intimation, that we are not now ready to deal with this resolution.

A Number of Delegates: Question.

A Delegate: No, we are not ready.

Hon. Mr. Murray: We now have a logical reason for the continuance of this discussion to-night. We will now adjourn until eight o'clock.

The Convention rose at 6 p.m.

Wednesday, August 6th

EVENING SESSION

In the temporary absence of the Chairmen, Mr. H. H. Dewart and the Hon. Senator Dandurand acted as Chairmen.

Announcement of Method of Distributing Ballots

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Prior to the beginning of the regular order of business this evening, I desire to make an announcement and, in reference thereto, to secure the approval of the delegates composing this Convention. Those of you who have good memories will recall that the announcement of this Convention was first made by our late lamented leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, at the Convention of the Western Ontario Liberal Association held in the city of London, Ontario, in the month of November last. That was in pursuance of an understanding arrived at between our late distinguished leader and a few of us here in Ottawa prior to his going to London to attend that meeting. Immediately upon the announcement being made and while Sir Wilfrid was still in London, I sent him a telegram suggesting, that, following the precedent of the 1893 Convention, a general secretary would be appointed to have charge of all the detail work connected with the Convention, and for the position of such general secretary, whose services would be given gratuitously, and who would discharge his duties because of his interest in Liberalism, and of his great desire for the success of the Liberal party and the return to power of its unequalled leader, I suggested the name of Mr. Andrew Haydon, Barrister, of Ottawa. I did that for the reasons that I have just mentioned and for the additional reason that there is nobody else in Ottawa upon whose good nature we could impose to such an extent as we could upon that of my friend, Mr. Haydon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier at once assented to the suggestion, and since his appointment as general secretary, Mr. Haydon has worked assiduously in connection

THE STAGE IN CONVENTION HALL

with the preparation for this great gathering. I mention that now for the reason that anything that comes from Mr. Haydon in the way of a suggestion is based on a great deal of thought and a great deal of consideration. It should not be lightly set aside; it is deserving of the approval of this Convention. Therefore, when I tell you that Mr. Haydon suggested the manner in which the voting for the leader of the Liberal party should be carried out, and when I further tell you, that his suggestion has met with the approval of the friends whom I have had the opportunity of consulting, I think that should be sufficient to commend it to the good judgment of the delegates present.

What Mr. Haydon suggests is this; that in view of the fact that the discussion on the tariff resolutions has only begun, in view of the fact that we have three other resolutions here on the table waiting to be presented and discussed, in view of the further fact that the Resolutions Committee are still hard at work, and in view of the still further fact that to-morrow is supposed to be the last day of the Convention, it would be advisable either to extend the time for the sittings of the Convention or that we to-night should fix a definite hour to-morrow afternoon for the voting to begin. Mr. Haydon suggests that the voting should commence to-morrow afternoon at half past three.

Cries of "Too late, too late."

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Wait until you hear the whole of it. Books of ballots are to be distributed in advance of the voting. It will take a considerable length of time to distribute the books of ballots because each delegate will have to sign the receipt that is attached to the book for the book of ballots that he receives. Mr. Haydon's suggestion is that all of the delegates from each province meet in the provincial committee rooms here in the rear of the Convention Hall, say, at two o'clock to-morrow afternoon, the Ontario delegates meeting in the Ontario committee room, the Quebec delegates meeting in their committee room, the Alberta and Saskatchewan delegates meeting in their respective committee rooms, and so on, each provincial group meeting in its own committee room. There Mr. Haydon will have a list of delegates for each province. He will in addition have the requisite number of books of ballots for the delegates from each province. These books will be handed over to the provincial chairman and secretary whom each province elected yesterday. They will see to the distribution of the books of ballots and get receipts. Mr. Haydon assumes that even in the case of the two larger provinces with the larger delegations, that is to say, Ontario and Quebec, the work of distributing these ballots can be easily done if the delegates pay attention to the rules laid down. It is assumed that the distribution can take place within an hour and a half. That is why, if we sit until, say, half past twelve to-morrow, and then adjourn until two, and if the delegates from the several provinces will assemble in their committee rooms at two so that the distribution of the ballots may then take place, Mr. Haydon suggests that the voting may begin at half past three in the Convention Hall after each provincial group has been seated in its proper place according to the location assigned to the delegation from each of the provinces. This is the suggestion that I have been asked to present to the delegates and no better suggestion occurred to me or to any of the other members of the committee who have been associated with Mr. Haydon and myself in preparing the work of this Convention. I would, therefore, ask that, with the approval of the delegates, the time I have mentioned, namely,

half past three to-morrow afternoon, should be fixed as the time for beginning the voting, and that two o'clock, with the delegates in each of their committee rooms, shall be fixed as the time for distributing these books of ballots. It is inadvisable to distribute these ballots before that hour. I hope that with this explanation, the suggestion of the general secretary, Mr. Haydon, will met with the approval of the delegates.

HON. SENATOR DANDURAND explained the proposed arrangements in French.

The suggestion was unanimously adopted.

HON. MR. MURPHY: I will convey the approval of the delegates to Mr. Haydon. The arrangements will be made accordingly and, like the other arrangements for the Convention, they will be carried out on time.

AMENDMENT BY HON. MR. OLIVER TO THE TARIFF

MR. DEWART: The Hon. John Oliver, Premier of British Columbia, will move an amendment to the tariff resolutions.

HON. JOHN OLIVER (Premier of British Columbia): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen———

MR. J. A. FRASER, New Glasgow: Mr. Chairman, I am sorry to interrupt these proceedings, but my amendment to the tariff resolutions preceded that of the gentleman from British Columbia.

HON. MR. MURPHY: If the Chairman were here he would explain to our esteemed friend that Mr. Oliver asked for an opportunity to move an amendment before the resolution was adopted.

MR. FRASER: That is all right.

HON. MR. OLIVER: I am sorry to have to differ with the report of the Committee on Resolutions. I am going to make my remarks just as short as it is possible for me to do. Following the example of my friend, Mr. Langley, I want to tell you that my first experience in Canadian politics was driving voters to the poll in the election of 1873, which returned the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie to power in the Dominion of Canada, and that I have been a consistent supporter and advocate of the principles of the Liberal party from that day to this. I see no reason to change my principles now. If there is any fault to be found with me it is because I have got so far ahead of some of the rest of you. I have the resolution submitted by the Resolutions Committee and I am going to move to strike out two of the paragraphs of that resolution. The paragraphs that I am going to move to strike out read as follows:

> "That, to these ends, wheat, wheat flour and all products of wheat; the principle articles of food; farm implements and machinery; farm tractors, mining, flour and saw-mill machinery and repair parts thereof; rough and dressed lumber; gasoline, illuminating, lubricating and fuel oils; nets, net-twines and fishermen's equipments; cements and fertilizers, should be free from Customs duties, as well as the raw material entering into the same.
>
> "That a revision downwards of the tariff should be made whereby substantial reductions should be effected in the duties on wearing apparel and footwear, and on other articles of general consumption (other than luxuries) as well as on the raw material entering into the manufacture of the same."

I am going to move to strike out those two paragraphs because, contrary to the opinion expressed by Mr. Langley, I take the ground that this is class legislation to a certain extent and I take the further ob-

jection that it is sectional in its operation. I am going to give as shortly as possible the reasons why I have come to this conclusion. The great, big question occupying the minds of the people of Canada at the present time is that of the high cost of living. That is the dominating influence to-day in the minds of the people of Canada and the only way to meet that is to put the necessaries of life on the free list and relieve them from the burden of taxation. The principles of removing the burden of taxation from the necessaries of life, if applied, will be beneficial to every class of the community, the laboring man, the farmer, and every other living man in this country; it is not class legislation and it is not sectional in its effect. This resolution as drawn, deals very largely with the question of farm machinery, saw-mill machinery and other machinery, gasoline, lubricating oils and things of that kind. I want to show you that it is sectional in its effect and that the resolution which I am going to propose is going to include everything that is contained in the paragraphs which I move to strike out, and much that is not in those paragraphs. The resolution which I am going to propose is easy to understand. It is:

"That all the words of the second and third paragraphs be struck out and the following words be substituted therefor:

"That to these ends———"

That is bringing prosperity to the people and reducing the cost of living.

"That to these ends all the actual necessaries of life, together with the tools, implements and machinery necessary for the development and preparation for use of our natural resources shall be free from Customs taxation."

I am going to put it to you from the start. Is there a man in this audience tonight who will name one single item amongst the necessaries of life———

(At this point Mr. Oliver accidentally knocked over the water pitcher.)

Continuing, he said: That is nothing to the things I can break. There are many stronger things than water jugs or pieces of horseshoes. I want to break some of the monopolies that exist in Canada. Is there a living man here tonight who dares to come on this platform and openly advocate the taxing of a single one of the necessaries of life in these days of the high cost of living? If there is, I would like him to come up here and tell us what the necessaries of life are that he wants to tax and let the people know where he stands and where the rest of us stand.

We will turn to the other phase of it. How are we to reduce the high cost of living and bring prosperity to Canada? According to this resolution it is not only necessary to put food, and other necessaries of life on the free list, but it is also necessary to develop the whole of Canada's resources. I take the ground that the resources of Canada are ample, that they are all-sufficient, not only to meet the needs of the present population of Canada, but of a population ten times as great as that which exists in Canada to-day. If you want prosperity it must come from the development of those natural resources and it must come from the conversion of those natural resources into what is required—the necessaries of life. We have in Canada the resources to give our people the necessaries of life and a very good share of the luxuries of life if those resources are developed and are equitably distributed among the people. We cannot undertake to say that all men are free and equal, but we can undertake to say that in so far as concerns the Liberal Government which

is going to come into power at the next election, that Government shall so adjust the development of these resources and the necessary taxation that every citizen of Canada shall have a square deal and derive equal benefit from the development of those resources.

Now, I am going to show the other side of the question. It has been said here to-day, and I agree with it, that the first duty of the Liberal party and of the citizens of Canada is to turn out the present Government; that you cannot have prosperity until you bring that about. I agree with that statement, but I am going to try and show you that if you pass this resolution in the shape in which it has come from the Resolutions Committee you are going to furnish a weapon not of defence, but a weapon by which the Borden Government can come back and successfully attack the Liberal party. In the election of 1911 I went down to defeat knowing before I was nominated that I did not have a shadow of success in that election. I went down to defeat knowingly in advance on the reciprocity pact upon which the Government appealed to the people at that time. I went into that fight for Liberalism with my hands practically tied behind my back. This resolution which you are now considering, if passed as it stands, will have the effect of not only tying my hands behind my back when we go into the next fight, but of tying the hands of a great many of the Liberal candidates in the next election.

I am going to show you, if you will allow me, to some extent, how this will operate.

(At this point Mr. Oliver took a glass of water.)

Continuing he said: My friends say that I had better take a drink of water. My old opponent, Sir Richard McBride, used to say, when I spoke, that it was the first time he ever saw a wind-mill run by water. I am going to give you some reasons why I say that this proposed resolution is favouring certain classes, and I am going to show you why I say it is sectional and why I say it is going to be a club in the hands of our opponents. We will take some of the items. Let us take the farm tractor. That is an implement of production and of development which ought to be on the free list, but is it any more an implement of production than the power which goes into your wood-working factories or into any other factories which are producing the necessaries of life; is it any more an article of production than the gasoline engine in the fisherman's fishing boat or any other power that is used for productive purposes? Take the farmer's plow; is that any more an implement of production to the farmer than the jack plane, the brace and bit or the carpenter's tools are to the carpenter, or the machinist's tools are to the mechanic, or the plumber's tools are to the plumber? Is it any more in one case an article of production than it is in the other? If you put farm machinery on the free list, what answer are you going to give the artisan whose tools are taxed all the way from 35 to 70 per cent? You have not got the answer and you cannot furnish the answer. That is not a square deal and it is not good Liberal policy. It is a getby proposition. It would not even get the Borden Government by and the Liberal party is too big and too important in this great crisis in Canada's history to put any getby proposition before the people.

Let us take some of the other articles—free saw mill machinery for instance. But saw mill machinery is only a portion of the machinery used in the lumbering industry. What about the donkey engine, the axes, the saws, and all the other implements necessary to the production

of lumber? The getting of the logs to the mill is a bigger item of production than sawing them into planks and boards. When you put lumber into a furniture factory, or put it into a planing mill or into any wood working proposition which turns the products of the forest into the furniture of the house or into the materials used in the building of the house, or into ornamental work, everything you ornament or build your house with deals with the great business of production, and what answer have you when your Conservative friends say to you: This is a resolution in favour of one class or locality. You have not got an answer. You are something like the ass which, before its Maker was a dumb brute. You put your lumber through your planing mill and you declare in favour of free building. One of the biggest propositions before us to-day is the housing proposition. You have it down here and we have it in British Columbia. In British Columbia we took advantage of the Dominion Government's offer to loan money to build houses and we are borrowing every dollar they will lend us for returned soldiers and others and on the cost of every house that is being erected for a returned soldier the province of British Columbia is giving a rebate of $300. But, you say you want lumber on the free list. I do not blame you. But why, in the name of common sense, put lumber on the free list and not put the nails, the hardware, the plumber's fittings and the other materials which go into the construction of the house on the free list? Is that right, is that logical, is that sensible?

Let us go a little bit farther and let us take another article. You want free cement. Over in our little province we have three immense cement plants, every one of them idle to-day for want of orders. Why should you put cement on the free list and leave the iron that goes into the cement building as reinforcement on the dutiable list? Is that consistent, or logical? What answer can you give to your political opponents when they meet you on the platform for these things? You have not got an answer, you cannot give one; it is unanswerable.

Then, when we get farther down, we have here free gasoline. Free gasoline for the automobile of the millionaire, free gasoline for the automobile of the profiteer who has made hundreds of thousands and millions out of the necessities of the nation during this time of war. What do you say to the returned soldier who has been over there for $1.10 a day and who now comes back to his wife and kiddies? What do you tell him? Reduce the tariff on the clothing and boots that he has to provide for his kiddies? Men and women, that is not good enough for the returned soldier; it is not good enough for your working man; it is not not logical; it is not consistent. If this Liberal party has a policy at all, it is a policy of justice to the mass of the people and if you have to resort to taxation, that taxation must be put upon the luxuries of life and upon the men who have made money and can afford to carry the burden. I am going before the returned men; I am going before a body of returned men who came to my office and demanded that I give up the reins of government. I told these men I would not do so; I told them that I was going to give them a square deal and, before God, I am going to try to give them a square deal. Am I to go before these men and say that I voted for a resolution which would give free gasoline to the millionaire and the profiteer and put a tax upon the little duneens, duds and brogues that the soldiers' children have to wear. We will take another item. You have got lubricating oil free. I say it is unanswerable why this should be the only kind of lubricant that should be free in this Canada of ours.

I am not going to trespass upon the time which has been apportioned to me by the chairman of this Convention. I am going to ask you: Have I made my case good in this Convention when I ask you to put the implements of production which we must use to develop our natural resources, and in order to produce the necessaries of life, on the free list? Have I made my case good? I have done my best. You do your duty as faithfully as I have done mine and I have no doubt of the result.

MRS. H. D. PETRIE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have listened with a great deal of interest to the discussion on the tariff question by the various members of the Resolutions Committee, and it appears to me that in accordance with the purpose and attitude of this gathering the resolution should be in general terms and that the articles should not be mentioned in detail. Until the whole question is gone into, with expert knowledge of the items mentioned, it is not safe to deal with specific items. For instance, I do not see why wheat, or the products of wheat, should be admitted duty free, while oats which now enter to nearly as great an extent into the use of the ordinary household, will be dutiable. Then, gasoline is put in the same category. Gasoline is mainly consumed as a luxury. Therefore, I am in favour of laying down the broad, general principle that the actual necessaries of life and the equipments for producing the same should be duty free, thereby reducing the cost of living. Therefore, I have pleasure in seconding Mr. Oliver's amendment to the original motion.

MR. J. A. FRASER, New Glasgow, N.S.: May I submit an amendment to the amendment?

HON. SENATOR DANDURAND: Mr. Fraser of New Glasgow, N.S., has an amendment to the amendment to propose.

MR. FRASER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, since I offered this amendment to the consideration of the Chairman before adjournment, I have been amazed at my own temerity. I cannot understand it, and I want to voice a passing protest against being shunted because the Chairman was about to put the motion when I got up and offered my amendment. However, I am perfectly satisfied as you will probably be satisfied if it does not get any further than referring to it.

Regarding who I am, I must introduce myself. When I was a young man the principles of Liberalism, as enunciated in the province of Nova Scotia by the Hon. Joseph Howe, became of general acceptance. I lived under, and professed, those principles until I came under the leadership of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie of the province of Ontario. After Mr. Mackenzie, I followed Mr. Blake with the little intelligence I had until he went out of public life. Then I came under the leadership of that great apostle of democracy in the Dominion of Canada, the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Thank God, when many captains of the host forsook him and fled, I stood by him. I thank the Lord every moment of my life that I stood by him. We look back with regret to the good times under the tariff of the Liberals from 1896 to 1911. What saved the Fielding tariff was not that it was void of protection but because there was an honest administration of the tariff and the finances of Canada. The Hon. William Paterson of Ontario was in charge of the Customs, and a better or honester man never trod the soil of Canada. A gentleman from my own province, the Hon. William Stevens Fielding, was Finance Minister—another honest man. He and the Hon. William Paterson went hand in hand through most of that period and gave Can-

ada an honest administration of the customs and good government. We all regret that the halcyon days between 1896 and 1911 have passed.

Cries of "Question," "Question."

MR. FRASER: Now to the question. I am as keen about the reduction of the tariff as any man in this hall. I want it to be in plain terms that any person can understand. When you come to scrutinize an item in the tariff you forget that you are taxing one man's finished product and another man's raw material. The amendment which I propose to move is as follows

> "RESOLVED, that the first three clauses in the original resolution and all of my friend's amendment that does not jibe with this be striken out and that the following be substituted:
>
> "THAT the customs tariff of the Dominion should be based, not as now, on the protective principle but for revenue purposes founded in part on the requirements of the public service: Therefore, we condemn the principle of protection in the customs tariff and declare that it leads to Class Privilege, Profiteering, Political Corruption, the Creation of Monopolies and Trusts, the Economic Exploitation of the People, the Impoverishment of the Working People, Presses Severely on People with Moderate Fixed Salaries, and we demand the substantial and general reduction of the Customs tariff and the removal of the duties on the machinery and implements of all basic industries, on foodstuffs, warm clothing, fuel and raw materials."

I think that covers the conditions that my friend was complaining about. Then I go on:

> "WE reject the theory that the duties imposed by the customs tariff must be high in order to produce sufficient revenue for the requirements of those public services upheld by the Federal authorities. Instead, we claim that, in order to reduce tariff taxes in the interests of the people, the revenue should be provided very largely by a direct tax on unimproved land values, by a graduated income tax on all incomes over three thousand dollars a year, on a reasonable percentage of the profits of companies and corporations over ten per cent on their paid up cash capital, and by a graduated inheritance tax on all estates valued at upwards of fifteen thousand dollars.
>
> "HAVING regard to the high cost of living and the increasing burden upon the working people and those in receipt of limited incomes due to the high cost of the necessities of life, we condemn the so-called Union Government for its failure to prosecute combines formed to limit competition and thereby enhance prices and also failure to prosecute men who have taken advantage of war conditions to prey on the people. As a partial remedy we declare for Government control and regulations of cold-storage plants, abattoirs and stock yards, for the prosecution of combines and profiteers and for a thorough investigation of economic conditions in order to arrive at the reason for public unrest and to provide a remedy.
>
> "FURTHER, regarding the unrest which has led to labor troubles, we believe that it is caused by the high cost of living and the belief by the public of undue profiteering on the part of those handling food and clothing, the grievance being aggravated by being under the protection of the tariff. When the latter is shown to be the case the duty on similar articles should be at once suspended."

I move this amendment, seconded by Dr. Whitman, of Pictou, in the province of Nova Scotia. A good deal has been said about the feeling in the West and the feeling in the East regarding various matters. What will benefit the West will benefit the East; I have not the shadow of a doubt about that, and my business in life is to make as close an examination of the conditions in the several provinces as I possibly can. Sometimes you make fun of we newspaper men but, if you want information on any subject, interview those gentlemen (pointing to the press tables) and you are pretty sure to get it from them straight. I get my information from these men, the class to which I belong, and of whom I am extremely proud. My time is up. I move this amendment to the resolution and I think I can fairly say that it covers the whole subject of tariff reform, and tariff taxation, better than anything I have heard stated since I came into this assembly.

Hon. Senator Dandurand: Ladies and Gentlemen, after conferring with Mr. Dewart, we have come to the conclusion that this sub-amendment cannot stand and that as such it will have to be taken up after we have disposed of Mr. Oliver's amendment, because it is practically a substantive motion that has been moved by Mr. Fraser. There now stands before the Convention the amendment of the Hon. Mr. Oliver that the two clauses in which are mentioned, first, articles which should go on the free list and, second, articles that would stand a substantial reduction in duty, should be replaced by the following:

> "That to these ends, all the actual necessaries of life, together with the tools, implements and machinery used and necessary for the development and preparation for use of our natural resources shall be free from customs taxation."

Mr. A. K. Cameron, Montreal: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, in the Committee on Resolutions this morning I moved an amendment to the motion as presented to you this evening by the Hon. Mr. Langley, but I did not get that measure of support that enabled me to defeat that part of the resolution to which I take exception. I was driven from the front line trenches. I retired to the second line trenches and I gave notice that I would carry the fight to the floor of the Convention.

I do not object to the resolution for the same reasons that Mr. Oliver does. I object to the resolution very largely because I think it is bad political strategy. It is a great pity that the members of the Resolutions Committee would not take the trouble to read the political history of the Liberal party in the past and learn from that political history how to avoid the mistakes that in the past have led it to destruction. If you will go back to the history of the party you will find that in 1878, 1882, 1887 and in 1891 we committed the blunder of pledging ourselves to a specific platform in detail, and as a result we placed a club in the hands of our opponents with which they assassinated us. In 1896 we changed our tactics. Sir Wilfrid Laurier went before the people and said: "You place me in power and I give you my pledge that I will so administer the affairs of this country as to give you prosperity and economical administration. You will not have to read statistics to know whether you are prosperous; you will know it by putting your hands in your pockets." The people took Sir Wilfrid Laurier at his word and he gathered around him after the election of June, 1896, a galaxy of men, the equal of whom I challenge you to find in any British Dominion, or even in the Motherland itself. These men gave us a condition in this

country that will be looked upon in future as the golden age. It was not altogether what they did on the tariff that brought about this condition, but they gave us such an administration as to restore confidence and sanity. Stop tinkering; give us stability. That is what we need to-day more than anything else to bring a return to sanity and a return of those conditions that Sir Wilfrid Laurier brought about when he came to power in 1896.

In the Resolutions Committee this morning I challenged the Chairman of the Committee, who will probably speak at this meeting, and I challenged any member of the Committee to give me information about any one of these specific items that are mentioned in this resolution, showing the value of the imports, the amount of duty paid and the amount of these goods manufactured in Canada, and not one single man could give me that information. How in the name of heaven is it possible for a group of men who have no more information than that to lay down specific lines of action that will pledge the party in the future to action that it may not be able to carry out? Then, we will be open to the old charge that we did not implement our pledges. It is ridiculous on the face of it. The last clause of the main resolution proposes to reduce the British preference fifty per cent, but there is the preceding clause in which they call for a general reduction of the tariff down the whole line. If you reduce the tariff down the whole line, and then say that you will reduce the British preference fifty per cent, you will have nothing left.

I submit as a reasonable proposition, ladies and gentlemen, that this Convention should confine itself to resolutions on general principles and that we should leave it to the leaders of the Liberal party, when they come to power, to carry out the platform so laid down in such a way that we will have a return of the conditions which Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave us in 1896. That is reasonable but I submit it is not reasonable that we should take a lot of specific items and say that you shall do this, and this, and this, when you do not say anything about a hundred other items. It is ridiculous on the face of it and cannot be defended. I will be very much mistaken in the delegates in attendance at this Convention if they do not support me in my objection to the resolution and vote for the amendment against it. Surely it is enough for us to devote our attention to getting this country back to sanity and economical administration and the cutting down of waste; surely it is for us to see that we shall have a return to Parliamentary government; surely it is for us to see that we shall cut out these Orders in Council and, above everything else, surely our first duty, and the duty of the party, is to turn out Borden and his crew. Let us get rid of these brigands and pirates who are running the country on the rocks, destroying its sanity, putting one section of the country against the other and bringing about conditions that cannot make for anything but economic ruin.

That is the position I take and I submit it is a reasonable one. There is one question above all others that should engage the attention of this Convention and that is: How are we going to get back the people in this country who are divided by race and creed to the position where they trust each other?

Cries of "Question, question."

MR. CAMERON: I will be through in a minute. I am simply defending the position I take in stating that we should not make this a specific resolution but that we should confine ourselves to a statement of general principles.

A DELEGATE: Speak on the tariff.

MR. CAMERON: Yes. I think I have made my position clear. I think we make a mistake in submitting this specific resolution setting forth certain items such as you have laid before you here. I ask you to support the amendment and to defeat the resolution as placed before you by Mr. Langley.

HON. SENATOR DANDURAND: The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions will now speak.

MR. A. R. MCMASTER, M.P. (Brome, Que.): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, up yonder stands the castle of privilege. In front of the castle of privilege is the redoubt of high protection and of high tariff. We propose to overthrow the castle of privilege and we propose to take the redoubt of high protection. We have laid down in the resolution before you tonight the plan. It is not a perfect plan but it is the best that the united wisdom of the Committee on Resolutions could devise. The uncrowned king of British Columbia has another plan; a queen from Hamilton has another plan and a manufacturer from Montreal has another plan. What would you think if after the generals had laid down a plan for taking a difficult position at the front, a number of other generals came forward and proposed different plans and some of the boys went over the top according to one plan, and some of the boys went over the top according to another plan? Would the redoubt be taken? I do not think so.

Let me lay down some matters of principle. We have to regard five things in considering the tariff. First, we have to consider the high cost of living and if the tariff increases the high cost of living, the tariff must come down. The manufacturers would not want the tariff unless they were able to charge more under the shadow of the tariff wall. Then, second, we want to be able to increase production. Unless we have increased production and bring more of the natural resources of this country into a condition of producing wealth, great difficulty faces the Canadian people. In the third place, we want to be able to control and to limit the power of combines and trusts and the manufacturers with gentlemen's agreements who have in many of the necessities of life practically eliminated competition within the Dominion of Canada.

Concurrently with these principles, we have to consider two things. Until other means of collecting a revenue are devised, and not only devised but put into successful operation, we have to keep the tariff as a means for raising revenue. We have an immense debt. That debt is largely in the hands of the men and women of this country—too much of it is in the hands of the rich folk—but nevertheless there is not a hamlet in Canada where the public have not victory bonds or war loans. They ask of their fellow citizens that we assure them that the interest on these war loans shall be paid. We have also to give a fair and reasonable opportunity to all those who manufacture in this country and have been leaning on the tariff to adjust themselves to the new conditions. We want to be fair to everybody. I submit, Messrs. Chairmen, that in this resolution we have endeavoured to keep these five principles in mind.

Let me just ask you to consider the British Columbia amendment. My voice is not as strong and clear as it should be for two reasons, first, I heard the magnificent speech yesterday afternoon of my friend Ernest Lapointe, the member for Kamouraska, and I cheered my head off. Next, I have been keeping the ladies and gentlemen in the Committee on Resolutions in order—although they did not need much keeping in

order—for the last eighteen hours or so. I have just arrived to hear the somewhat emotional appeal of the Premier of British Columbia. What was the burden of his song? It was this: You are too specific in this resolution, you ask that gasoline be put on the free list and that is what the millionaire wants. I ask the Premier of British Columbia how many fishing boats go out from the shores of British Columbia every day with fishermen and sailors on board to reap the harvest of the seas, and how many of these fishing boats use gasoline?

HON. MR. OLIVER: There are not one quarter as many people in British Columbia using gasoline as there are children using boots and shoes.

MR. MCMASTER: What about Nova Scotia? Nova Scotia uses gasoline, too. I do not think there is very much in the argument about gasoline. What is the difference between the Premier of British Columbia and myself? There is not very much difference. We are within four pounds of each other. He said that we should not specify in this resolution wheat, wheat flour and all the products of wheat; that we should not specify the principal articles of food, farm implements and machinery, farm tractors, mining, flour and saw-mill machinery and the spare parts thereof, rough and dressed lumber, gasoline, illuminating, lubricating and fuel oils, nets, net-twines and fishermen's equipment, cement and fertilizers. What does he specify?

> "That to these ends, all the actual necessaries of life, together with the tools, implements and machinery necessary for the development and preparation for use of our natural resources shall be free from Customs taxation."

What is the difference between saying that the farmer's equipment, the fishermen's equipment, the miner's equipment, and flour mill equipment shall be on the free list and saying that all those different things necessary for the development of our natural resources shall be free? It is a distinction, Mr. Chairman, without a difference.

MR. OLIVER: Only one is about ten times as large as the other.

MR. MCMASTER: My friend is a gentleman who has the courage to go to his people and say that we have to have taxes, and we must have the courage in this great assembly to say that we have got to have a tariff as an engine for raising revenue.

A DELEGATE: We have not.

MR. MCMASTER: Until you devise and put into successful operation some other scheme, I humbly submit you have to. What does my good friend, Mr. Cameron say? What does Mr. Cameron, for whom I have not only great admiration but great affection, tell you? He says: I agree with the first part of the resolution, that is, I believe we should have the tariff substantially reduced, but it is not wise for us to tell the people on what lines we propose to reduce it; it is not good political strategy. My friends, I say that the people of Canada are sick and tired and nauseated with political strategy.

They want the truth, and the truth shall make them free.

Now, what do we propose to do? We put a number of things on the free list. There was a lady who said: "Why did you put wheat and wheat flour and all products of wheat on the free list, and not put oatmeal on the free list." I ask this audience, composed largely of Scotch Grits, what is one of the principle articles of food if it is not oatmeal porridge? Now, what do we propose?

(An inaudible interruption from the audience).

Mr. McMaster: I have spent a good many months in considering this subject, for the benefit, I hope, of you and of the rest of the country. Do not grudge me one-quarter of an hour to answer arguments which I think have a tendency to divide the forces of progress and to prevent us scaling the redoubt of which I spoke a moment ago.

We ask that substantial reductions be made not only on footwear and wearing apparel, but on all the necessaries of life; and I do not believe we can go further.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I do not propose to take up the time of this committee. Mr. Cameron made a striking admission when he said that he had brought these matters before the general Committee on Resolutions, but that his arguments had failed to receive the support which he thought they should receive. Well, we threshed it out; we have threshed it out again here, and I must ask you to support the resolution.

Mr. Hartley Dewart (Acting Chairman): I understand it to be the ruling of the Chair that the amendment to the amendment, being a substantive resolution and dealing with other matters than those contained in the amendment, cannot be dealt with as an amendment. .

The question, therefore, is upon the amendment submitted by Hon. John Oliver, and seconded by Mrs. Petrie. All those in favor of the amendment will signify in the usual way.

Mr. Dewart declared the amendment lost, on a show of hands, and the resolution of Hon. Mr. Langley was adopted.

Labor and Industrial Conditions

Mr. Hartley Dewart: The next resolution deals with the question of labor and industrial conditions, and will be moved by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the privilege of presenting to this gathering a resolution of the committee on the subject of labor and industrial relations. I shall read the resolution first, and then address myself to the subjects and topics mentioned in it:

> "Resolved that the Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention accept in their entirety as a part of the Liberal platform, in the spirit in which they have been framed and in so far as the special circumstances of the country will permit, the terms of the Labor Convention and general principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporated in the Conditions of Peace.
>
> "These methods and principles for regulating labor conditions as set forth in the Treaty are as follows:"

I ask you to note these words, "as set forth in the Treaty," because the Committee thought it well to make an exact copy of what is contained in the Treaty itself.

> "*First*—The guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce."

Had the Committee been framing that resolution themselves, I think that they would have omitted the word "merely." The laborer and his labor cannot be separated, and the members of the Committee feel that the resolution would be stronger and would more fully express the sentiment which they have at heart if it read:

> "*First*—The guiding principle that labor should not be regarded as a commodity or article of commerce."

The word "merely" being left out. But we prefer to take the exact wording of the articles as drawn up at the Peace Conference.

"*Second*—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

"*Third*—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

"*Fourth*—The adoption of an 8-hour day or a 48-hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

"*Fifth*—The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

"*Sixth*—The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitation on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

"*Seventh*—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

"*Eighth*—The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

"*Ninth*—Each state should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

"And Further Resolved:

1. That the introduction into the government of industry of principles of representation whereby labor and the community, as well as capital, may be represented in industrial control, and their interests safeguarded and promoted in the shaping of industrial policies.

"2. That in so far as may be practicable, having regard for Canada's financial position, an adequate system of insurance against unemployment, sickness, dependence in old age, and other disability, which would include old age pensions, widows' pensions, and maternity benefits, should be instituted by the Federal Government in conjunction with the Governments of the several provinces; and that on matters pertaining to industrial and social legislation an effort should be made to overcome any question of jurisdiction between the Dominion and the Provinces by effective co-operation between the several Governments.

"3. The representation of labor on Federal Commissions pertaining to labor matters.

"4. Effective legislation for the conservation of human life and health.

"5. The representation of labor on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways.

"6. That the system of re-training soldiers unfitted for their past work, because of physical injuries, be extended to disabled workers in industry.

"7. More effective restriction of Chinese immigration.

"8. The federal incorporation of co-operative associations.

"9. The acceptance of the principle of proportional representation.

"10. Immediate and drastic action by the Government with respect to the high cost of living and profiteering.

"11. Restoration of the control of the Executive by Parliament and of Parliament by the people through a just franchise and its exercise under free conditions, and a discontinuance of Government by Order in Council."

Mr. Chairman, the resolution is a somewhat lengthy one, but you will realize, I am sure, that in dealing with it, the Committee is dealing with, perhaps, the most difficult and complex subject demanding the world's consideration to-day.

It would be impossible to discuss the resolution in details, but I should like to bring the attention of this gathering to two or three outstanding features.

In the first place, the resolution recognizes that the labor problem, so-called—the problem of industry—is a world problem; that you cannot solve the complicated questions in the labor world to-day by taking account of any one locality or industry; that we have reached a stage in the development of society, where not only locality competes with locality, and industry with industry, but where province competes with province, nation with nation, and continent with continent. That being the case, your Committee felt it was acting wisely in asking this Convention to accept the principles which had been laid down by an international gathering at Paris, composed of able men from different countries of the world, who have given considerable study to these industrial questions.

The Conference at Paris had associated with it, as you know, men who have given long and careful study to these complicated problems, and the Convention respecting labour matters was drawn up in a spirit that makes possible its application to all of the several nations that wish to join together to assist in improving conditions which affect the well-being of humanity. My feeling is, ladies and gentlemen, that the Liberal party of Canada, in accepting this programme in its entirety to-night, is taking a position which, in the course of time, will be regarded as historic; it is declaring itself the first political party in any country in the world to accept this programme, and to ask its followers to join with other nations in carrying it out.

Not only does the resolution recognize that the labour problem is a world problem; it recognizes also that the labour problem is a human problem. The resolution is based on the assumption that human personality is more important than any considerations of property. It is founded on the belief that ethetical and human considerations ought to stand above considerations which are purely business or material. It is an expression of the belief that industry exists for the sake of humanity, not humanity for the sake of industry.

Ladies and gentlemen, if there has been one thought in the minds of the Committee in drafting this resolution it has been that indicated by the query, what were the principles, what were the ideals, for which the men of this country fought and gave their lives across the sea? The Committee feel that this war was a war for freedom, it was a war to bring about throughout the world a larger measure of human freedom; and that the men who sacrificed their lives did so that there might come into the world a newer and higher civilization. Those who did live through those storm-swept, war-swept years, in France and Flanders, were not preserved that they might return to a condition of warring factions in industry. They have come back with the hope of helping to bring about a condition under which the life of the people shall be

made a life of greater freedom, a life of greater human happiness for the masses, a life of social, political, and industrial freedom, in so far as it is possible to make it such. They have interpreted the unrest of the world to-day in words the workman himself is using; they are saying that "man does not live by bread alone"; that while wages may be one thing, wages in themselves are not enough. It is not enough to have work one day and unemployment the next; to have work at one time and then, when sick, be helpless in the matter of meeting the great problems of invalidity, of dependence, and the like, where these things arise through the organization of industry as it is, rather than through the fault of the workers themselves.

And so, taking the resolution as it is drafted, the purpose, as I have said, is to recognize that, as between the different provinces and the Dominion, we must endeavour to co-operate in working out a new industrial order, whereby, for the multitudes of men and women who spend their lives in industry, there may be a greater measure of economic and social freedom, and a larger measure of social justice.

While the resolution recognizes that the problem of labour is a world problem; and that it is essentially a human problem, and so takes account of human resources as being more important than natural resources; while the resolution recognizes these things, it recognizes also that the problem of labour is essentially a problem of government within industry, and also a problem of government within the state.

Is it not true of industry, that at present time, it is organized too largely on the basis of capital as the sole factor in the determining of industrial policy? Is it not true of most of the large industries of the country as organized at present that the capital investors choose the board of directors, that the board of directors select the management, and that the management determines the terms and conditions of employment, without necessarily inviting the co-operation of Labour in matters which affect its own well-being.

Well, the government of industry is in course of transition at the present time. While it is proper that capital investors should have every security in their investment, and should have every right of control, in so far as investment of capital gives a right to control, it is also just that the other parties who are necessary to industry should also have a voice in determining the conditions under which industry is carried on. Not only is capital necessary, but labour is also necessary to the carrying on of industry. The man of wealth, the capitalist, invests his capital and is entitled to a return in the form of interest, the labourer also invests his labour and becomes entitled to a return in the form of wages. But if the capital investor, in addition to his interest, gets also a right of control in the government of industry, should not the labour investor also have some voice in the control of conditions which affect his life and work? Now, this does not mean that Labour seeks to take hold of the business of management, to take on the problems of finance, of markets, of obtaining supplies and the like, with which, at the present time, at least, it is not in a position to deal. But it does mean that in regard to the things which concern their own well-being, in regard to the shops in which men work; in regard to the sanitary conditions by which they are affected; in regard to questions of wages and hours of labour; of the manners and behaviour of officials who are put in immediate direction over them; in regard to these different classes of questions, all of which have a vital bearing upon their health, well-being and happiness, working-

men and women should have a voice, along with the other parties to industry, in helping to shape and determine conditions.

Not only does the resolution recognize the right of Labour in this connection; it recognizes also another most important party to industry—a party too often forgotten sometimes by Labour and sometimes by Capital—I mean the Community, without which neither Labour nor Capital would be able to carry on their joint enterprise, the work of production.

Stop and think of it, ladies and gentlemen; it is the community that supplies the natural resources and powers upon which all production depends. It is the community which maintains government and law and order, without which it would be impossible for industry to be carried on at all. It is the community that, in one form or another, makes possible the agencies of transportation, of banking, of communication, through the grants it makes and the privileges it gives. It is the community that undertakes the work of education, that breeds opinion, that stimulates the arts and inventions, upon which the carrying on of industry so completely depends. It is the community that creates the demand for the commodities, from the proceeds of which capital receives its interest and labour its wages. In all of these particulars, and many others, the community is absolutely essential to the carrying on of industry. Well, if that be true, the rights of the community ought to be observed wherever any question arises which affects the well-being of the people as a whole.

What is suggested by the policy of the Liberal party is this: that we shall find a satisfactory solution of the great questions of industry only as we realize that there are several parties to industry, all of whom are essential, all of whom are interdependent; and that we must give to the different parties a voice in the control of matters which affect their own particular well-being and the well-being of human society.

I pass on now to the other aspect of the third point which this resolution suggests. Not only does the resolution regard the labour problem as a world problem, a human problem, and a problem of government within industry; it also asserts that the labour problem is, as well, a problem of government within the state. In this connection I would draw your attention to the last clause of this resolution, which advocates a restoration of the control of the Executive by Parliament and of Parliament by the people; through the discontinuance of government by Order-in-Council, through a just franchise, and its exercise under free conditions.

Mr. Chairman, I desire to take advantage of this moment to say a word or two which I have wished to say for some time past. It bears directly upon the subject before us, and I should like to have your permission so to do.

It has been my desire, at the right time, and in the right place, to pay some slight tribute to the memory of our great and dearly beloved leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This, I think, is the time, and this, I think, is the place, because the questions we are discussing here all bound up with the great principle to the maintenance of which he gave his life, for which he fought all his political battles—yes, and for which he died; namely, the right of the people to control the Parliament of their country.

I shall not attempt to pay any tribute to his name or memory in words of praise. What praise of mine, or of any man or woman in this room, could add to the words that have come from all countries and from all

continents since he passed away? No, I will give the praise which history will give: his own words and his own life.

I ask you to allow me a moment to quote to you what was said by Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the time Parliament received its extension in February, 1916. I am going back a little in order that, if possible, in a few words, I may make his position clear before the world—a position that has become clouded and obscured by the multiplicity of events that have swept over our country, and shrouded our vision in this strenuous period.

When the term of Parliament was extended in 1916, the question naturally came up, what right has any group of men to extend the life of Parliament without consulting the people with reference to such extension, especially as Parliament derives its authority from the people? How did Sir Wilfrid Laurier meet that issue? He felt, as we all felt, that while the country was in the midst of the war, an election was undesirable, and that, if possible, it should be avoided. But he approached the subject with the utmost caution. When it came to him to speak of it in Parliament, he drew attention, at the very outset, to the great care with which the Fathers of Confederation had fashioned the Constitution of this country; to the reverence they had for British institutions, and especially for the British Constitution. He pointed out that of all the constituent elements of the British Constitution the most important were those which made for the control of the people over Parliament, and of Parliament over the Executive; and that limiting the period of Parliament to five years in our Constitution was the method the Fathers of Confederation had adopted, in order to ensure that the right of the people to deal with questions in which they are vitally concerned should not be taken away from them under any consideration.

So, before intimating his willingness to extend the term of Parliament, speaking of the principles I have referred to, Sir Wilfrid said: "They were intended to put a check upon the power of the King and of Parliament." He had reference specially to the requirement that Parliament should be dissolved at least every five years, for the purpose of appeal to the country. Here are his very words, repeating what he had previously said: "They were intended to subject the King to the control of Parliament and to subject Parliament to the final arbitrament of the people."

Then, elsewhere, he used this expression:

"Whatever we may do, we cannot deprive the people of the supreme command which they must have over their legislatures, the members of which they elect."

Note these words, ladies and gentlemen, for all the troubles we have had in this country since that time have arisen out of an oversight of what they involve.

And note this final word, spoken before he gave consent to the extension:

"I would observe, first of all, that it is not proposed here to alter the principle of the constitution."

You see the ground upon which he accepted the extension. We were at war; to avoid an election in war time was the patriotic thing to do. But the only ground on which, even in war time, we would be justified in extending the term of Parliament was that we maintained the fundamental principle of the constitution, the principle of the right of the people to control Parliament on all matters of vital importance. So he said:

"I would observe, first of all, that it is not proposed here to alter the principle of the constitution. It is not proposed to override the control which the people have over Parliament. It is simply proposed to suspend for the time being the operation of the constitution. If it were proposed to make away altogether with that principle which is embodied in the constitution, certainly I would oppose such an attempt with all my might."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I want to put this simple question before you. My time is up, but, as I shall not be speaking again during this Convention, if I may be permitted, I should like to finish.

SOME DELEGATES: Go on.

HON. MR. KING: Let me give one simple illustration; it is due to the memory of the man whose loss we mourn. Let me ask you what you would think in certain circumstances. Suppose the owner of a house were to give to another a lease of his house, and its occupancy for a period of five years, on the condition that at the end of the five years a full accounting should be made of the manner in which the occupancy had been carried on, and the conditions of the lease discharged. And suppose that at the end of the five years, while the owner was absent, having gone to fight in the war, while he was afar off, where he no longer had any control, the person who had assumed occupancy were to say: "I will take possession for another year; the owner is away fighting for the sanctity of contract; I will keep possession and assume that he is willing that I should. I will give him the pledged assurance that my time will be devoted to helping to win the war, and that I shall not deal with any matters which he may consider controversial without consulting him in the first instance." And then, suppose that, retaining possession on that assumption, the occupant were to begin at once, knowing there was no chance of the master returning, or having any voice in the control of his own affairs, to change the whole internal economy of the house on matters that were vital, without consulting the owner? What would you think of such a man? What would you think if he went down into the vaults of the house and took out the treasure that was there, and began distributing it among favorites? What would you think if next he began to take from the shelves and off the walls the treasures of art and literature, the sacred inheritances which had come down from ancestors in the past, things for which the owner's forefathers had fought and died? What would you think of him if he said: "I will dispose of these things altogether; I will make away with them; I will disregard all obligation; and then I will fix the approaches to the house so that the master, when he returns, will not be able to come in by the same door he went out of? Having retained possession of the house on the assumption that it is the patriotic thing to do, the owner being away fighting for the sanctity of contract, I nevertheless will close, first, this avenue of approach, though fought for for years; I will close, next, that avenue, in order that there may no longer be free entry into the house; I will destroy yet other approaches. Then, out and beyond all I will put up barbed wire entanglements in one form or another, so that the owner cannot possibly get back into his own house when he returns." What would you think of such a man? You would say that conduct of the kind was unutterably dishonourable; you would say that conduct of the kind was shaking the very foundations of honour in human society.

Well, I ask you if I exaggerate one bit when I say that that is precisely what the Borden government did with the rights of the people of Canada;

that is precisely what the Borden government did with the people's House of Commons. They retained possession on the understanding that the people's control over Parliament would not be parted with. They assumed possession, and then when securely in possession, they began the introduction of a series of controversial measures—Conscription, gifts to the Canadian Northern Railway, the War-Time Elections Act, to mention only these three.

And what position was Sir Wilfrid Laurier in, having given his consent to the extension? He stood as trustee of the rights of the people in their control over Parliament; it was for him to see that those fundamental rights were not infringed. I ask you if the stand he took on each of these questions as they came up was not that he was there as the trustee of the people of this country in their right to have their voices heard? He maintained that all measures likely to be controversial and of direct concern to the people should be referred to them before they were passed, because by the extension it has never been intended to part with the control of the people over Parliament. Never forget this, without Sir Wilfrid's consent the extension could not have been granted. It required the unanimous consent of both Houses of Parliament in a petition to the British Parliament. Had Sir Wilfrid and his followers not acquiesced in the Commons, the matter would not have gone further. Not to part with any measure of control by the people over Parliament for the year of the extension was the ground on which it was obtained. Sir Wilfrid's consent being a necessary factor, he stood in a very special position of trusteeship to safeguard the people's rights once they have been obtained.

I spoke of the occupant going down into the vaults of the house and taking out treasure and distributing it. Let me read Sir Wilfrid's words in regard to one transaction of Parliament during the period of extension. Speaking of the action of the Government at that session, in regard to the Canadian Northern Railway, he said in his last published appeal to the electorate:

> "One feature of the act of last session is that the Government becomes the owner of the stock of the Company, of the nominal value of sixty million dollars. There never was a dollar paid in that stock. The experts employed by the Government to appraise the value of the whole enterprise, men of acknowledged ability and experience, themselves have reported that the stock of the Company has no value whatever.
>
> "Yet the Government have taken authority to appoint a board of arbitrators to give a value to that property, which their experts have declared absolutely without value.
>
> "The Opposition asked that the report of the arbitrators, whatever it might be, should be laid before Parliament for approval. Though this motion was rejected, it is the right of the people to declare that the case should not have been finally closed by the action of moribund Parliament, but that the whole matter should be reported to, and adjudicated upon by the new Parliament."

Sir Wilfrid took the position that the occupancy of the House of Commons during the period of the extension gave no right to those who had taken possession of it irrevocably to dispose of millions of dollars in the people's money. If I am not wholly wrongly advised, there is reason to believe that that action was due more to a desire to win elections than to a desire to win the war. I think the time has come in the history

of Canada when the people of this country are determined to have a government that is not ruled by any railway, by any financial interests, or by any business or other corporations. We want a government that is going to be free from the control of the interests, from the control of specially privileged groups; a government that is representative of the principle of government by the people and for the people, and which will be carried on at the instance of the people's own representatives.

I will not complete the analogy, much as I should like to. You know only too well how the approaches to the House of Commons were tampered with. You know too well the vicious features of the War-Time Elections Act. How the Government arranged that its own vassals, its own creatures, should be manipulators of the election lists; how partisans alone had to do with their preparation. You know how the Government took away the vote from large numbers of men who were fully qualified citizens of this country, notwithstanding they had been guilty of no offence whatever, and that there was no action which it was possible to bring against them in any court. You know how the Government took away from the women—except those women who had relatives fighting overseas—the right to vote, where, under the existing law, they had every right to vote. You know all these things. And what is the result? The people of this country feel to-day, and rightly feel, that the Government in office is a Government that has usurped the rights of the people; and moreover, that many of its enactments are unjustifiable and not such as are in the interests of the people as a whole.

All this, I think, cannot be emphasized too strongly, for once the people lose faith in Parliament as the place in which to secure redress for their wrongs, there is an undermining of the foundations of all constituted authority. If there is one thing that will save the world from further revolution, it is that the governments of the different countries be made truly representative of the people as a whole. Our political history is largely the record of the struggle to bring about that kind of representation.

So I say, having the memory of our great chief and late beloved leader, we Liberals of Canada have reason to be proud that in him we have one whose name will ever find a place on the honor roll of illustrious statesmen—a place with men like Hampden, Pym, Pitt, Bright, Cobden, Gladstone, Lincoln, men who gave their lives battling for the right of the people to control Parliament, and the right of Parliament to control the Executive; that these rights should be observed in the name of freedom.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, thinking of him now that he is gone; thinking of the place he has left in the memory, not only of his friends and of his country, but of the world, well may we say of him, as Tennyson said of the Duke of Wellington,—here was a man

> "Who never sold the truth to serve the hour,
> Nor paltered with Eternal God for power;
> Who let the turbid streams of rumor flow
> Thro' either babbling world of high and low;
> Whose life was work, whose language rife
> With rugged maxims hewn from life."

Hon. Mr. Stewart (*Acting Chairman*): The resolution will be seconded by Mr. Arthur W. Roebuck, of Toronto.

Hon. Senator Dandurand: Mr. Roebuck has carried the Liberal banner in Temiskaming; he was the defeated candidate there in the last election.

Mr. A. W. Roebuck: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been warned by the managers of this great Convention that my remarks must necessarily be very brief. Indeed, there is necessity for but few words in seconding a resolution which has been moved in such eloquent and inspiring language as that which has been used by the worthy gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. King). I am sure that you have all been appealed to by his wonderful eloquence and by his logic. It is my privilege to represent those who have at heart the interests of labor in this Convention. I may say upon my own behalf, and on behalf of those whom I represent, that my friends are positively amazed at our moderation in these resolutions. There is great labor unrest in this country, and unless that unrest is met in a reasonable and statesmanlike way, there is going to be greater unrest. It may be that if great conventions such as this turn a deaf ear to the cry of the laboring man, the time will come when very much more radical measures than these will be proposed in the Parliament of this country. We are not proposing anything revolutionary or anything very radical; all we ask is that the laborer of this country be required to work only reasonable hours; that no person be asked to work at wages less than will enable him to live in morality and decency, and that the labor forces of this country shall have the natural right of all human beings to combine one with another for the making of their own agreements as best they may. These are the outstanding features of this resolution, and they are features, I take it, which no real democrat need quarrel with.

Let me close with one simple thought. Let me ask you, my friends, to contrast the answer that has been made by the present Government to the demand for a policy which will deal with the labor unrest that has shaken this country, with the answer that the Liberal party proposes to make if this resolution is carried. On the one hand, when we have had unrest, what has been the answer? When we labor men have tried to think—another Order in Council has been passed, if we raised our heads or opened our mouths—they hit us on the head with a policeman's baton and shoved us off to gaol. That is the kind of answer we got from Toryism. On the one hand, my friends, you have the spiked-helmet class of legislation of such men as Arthur Meighen and N. W. Rowell, and on the other you have the broad and sympathetic statesmanship of Mackenzie King. If you will simply pass this resolution, ladies and gentlemen, there will be no question as to which side the public will take.

I thank you.

Hon. Mr. Dandurand: We have two speakers who will follow, the Hon. George P. Graham and Mr. D. D. McKenzie, M.P. I have the honor to introduce the Hon. Mr. Graham, ex-Minister of Railways.

Hon. George P. Graham: Messieurs les presidents, mesdames et messieurs: Comme je parle très peu le français, permettez-moi de parler anglais s'il vous plait.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, we are in very serious times. The nation has been afflicted. The Liberal party has been afflicted. The homes of Canada have been entered by the demon of war. It is time for honest consideration, the soberest thought and the keenest deliberation. Never in the history of this great Dominion of ours has

there been such a condition or such need for the most sober thinking and the most deliberate action. I said the nation had been afflicted. So it has, but, sir, it has been tried as by fire and out of that trial will come the pure gold of democracy. The nation has been tried and has not been found wanting. We have been afflicted, but out of this affliction there will come a great reward. Who, sir, in contemplating what has taken place on the fields of Europe, red with the blood of the bravest of Canada's sons, but must realize in his heart of hearts that in the future we in Canada will stand for what is best in memory of the men who laid down their lives in order that we could stand for what is best? I said that the fields of Europe had been drenched in blood and many ties in the domestic life of Canada have been ruthlessly sundered. We sent our sons to the Motherland not to fight for Great Britain but to fight for Canada and the world. The battle was not for the British Empire. The battle was fought that your children, and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren might in the years to come enjoy the privileges which we have enjoyed up to date in this great Dominion of ours. Had Canada not been a part of the British Empire at all, every Canadian would have said that we as a young nation, believing in the righteousness of our cause and in the principles of democracy, must stand with the forces that are fighting for those great principles.

Affliction has come to families. Let me say this, and say it from the bottom of my heart, that although these families have been afflicted, although the best of their sons have gone, they have the consolation of knowing that these boys went forth not fearing the enemy but with the thought in their hearts that they would be true to the great traditions of their forefathers, to meet the hordes of autocracy on the field of battle, and it is in large measure due to their heroism and self-sacrifice that we in Canada to-day are shouting victory instead of hanging our heads in defeat. Does not this consoling thought come to the mothers, and the fathers who gave their sons, and to the wives who gave their husbands, that they have been called hence in the very zenith of their manhood and that they have, in these few short years in which they fought for the great commonwealth of the world, achieved the full fruition of the natural lives of men? We may live to three-score years, or by reason of our strength, to three-score years and ten, yet we may not have a greater reward or have a brighter record upon the page of history than these young men who laid down their lives for the freedom of mankind.

I said that we had been afflicted as a party. I knew Sir Wilfrid Laurier as well as any man, woman or child in this room. To me, as I came to see him in his last resting place, he did not seem to have died. His was the passing, not the death. With courage, with vigour, with a clear conscience—let me say it to you—this man laid down his life resting. In the midst of his day's work, as was always his custom in facing difficulties, he suddenly came across the great divide. Did he hesitate, did he falter? Not at all. He looked on the future with calmness; he looked on the past with satisfaction, and, facing that great divide, he did not falter, but he handed back to you and to me the burden of Liberalism to carry on and he merely stepped over and disappeared, surrounded by the mist of the barrage impenetrable of a well-spent life.

Now, I am from Ontario, and I am going to say a few plain things. I did not worship in the church where Sir Wilfrid did, but let me put this to the young men in this audience and to the mothers: If you, young men,

and the sons of your mothers, when you came to pass into the unknown, could leave behind you a record of duty and Christianity such as characterized the life of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, you might truthfully be said to have done the work that was given to you to do here below. We are now starting out upon a new life, starting out from the ruins of the war, to lay the foundation upon which shall be built, not only the Liberalism of Canada, but the national life of this great Dominion.

What should be the first plank in the platform, not published, but in our hearts, not in our heads or in our mouths only but in our hearts?—absolute consideration for the views of each other. We are gathered together, we say kind words, we shake each other by the hand and then some of us go home and allow the demon of bigotry to control our conduct. I am speaking plainly; I think I am privileged to do so. That grand Old Man would have been in office in 1911 but for the whisperings of bigotry throughout Canada. He was not beaten on the principles which he enunciated to the people of Canada because when they were first proposed in the House of Commons they were unanimously accepted. But owing to prejudice, the waving of the old flag, the wrapping around them by certain pretended super-loyalists of the Grand Old Union Jack, they slid into office. They were not voted into office, they were whispered into office. I am very strong on this point and unless we as Liberals shall insist upon the fundamental doctrine of Liberalism, that is the right of every man to his own thought and his perfect religious freedom, we are not Liberals. We are fossilized Tories of the old feudal period. Let me say to the Protestants in this room that the system that produced a Wilfrid Laurier is not a bad system; it cannot be very bad. I judge a tree by its fruit and I say to this vast audience that there never has lived in the Dominion of Canada or elsewhere a more perfect, a more thorough, Christian gentleman than Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Let us take each other by the hand with a hearty grip and let us publish to the world, to those who are full of prejudices, to those who, for political and personal reasons, fan the flame of bigotry, that from this time forward not only will we not listen to these whisperings but we will judge unworthy of citizenship any man or woman who indulges in them. Only in this way can we make the Liberal party great. It is the cornerstone, to my mind, of Liberalism, and without it we need not start to build because our house will be dissolved as if it were of sand.

Then, sir, true Liberalism means legislation for the masses of the people. It has been said that the Lord must love the common people; he has made so many of them. Liberalism, if it means anything, means that it has always protected those who were unable to protect themselves. The interests entrenched behind great wealth are able to protect themselves, but the people who are in subjection to them must have the protection of the Government and that is the kind of a Protectionist I am.

We are starting afresh in the upbuilding of our national life. Old notions that we once possessed may have to go by the board. It is not what we have done but what is going to be the result of our deliberations here. The result of our deliberations will have a wonderful and marked effect on the future of Canada, perhaps on the future of the Empire.

I think I am as loyal as any of you; I think I have a right to claim that I am. I say unhesitatingly, with all the weight my words may convey, that the first duty of Canadians is to legislate for Canada. I may be treading on toes. So much the worse for the toes. Canada now is recognized as an entirety that must be reckoned with in the settlement

of all great troubles, but Canada is going to do it because Canada wants to do it. Let me put my position clearly. There is a school of thought in the British Empire—I am ashamed to say it, but I am not afraid—that has not yet outgrown the idea that Canada is a colony and that anything we do ought first to be subjected to the scrutiny of Downing Street.

A DELEGATE: Nothing doing.

MR. GRAHAM: While we, as Liberals, are loyal and want to stay within the Empire, let us take the firm stand as the third plank in our platform of principles and declare that we are for Canada, that we are going to do our own business and that we have a right to do it wrongly if we want to.

There is a railway resolution coming before this Convention. If you will allow me, I will make a few remarks on that now and not speak on it again. I say, sir, that the present Government has made, or attempted to make, a failure of Sir Wilfrid's great project of a National Transcontinental Railway because the men who compose that Government were enemies of it from the very start. Their antipathy to it has been studied, their hatred has been keen, and their conduct has been in harmony with their antipathy and their hatred. When this Government came into power they proceeded to change the contract with the Grand Trunk Railway Company although they were warned by the late Mr. Hays that if they changed that contract he would not take over the Transcontinental railway and lease it. They studiously made these changes in order that the Grand Trunk Railway Company would not take it over under lease. They appointed a commission, for which we paid over $100,000, to investigate the Transcontinental railway, and I say without any hesitation that its report was in defiance of the truth, it was contrary to the evidence and was the most nonsensical thing, as far as the report is concerned, that the people of Canada ever had thrust upon them. Yet, the Government paid $100,000 for it. There was only, in the whole construction of the road, one item of $4,000 which they questioned, as to the necessity for the distribution of the money—$4,000—and that was in reference to a lease that was made and the testimony was very contradictory on that. They said that $40,000,000 had been wasted but they did not say where it had been wasted or how it had been wasted. Have you ever heard of that contract during the last two or three years? They ran away from it like scared rabbits as soon as the people of Canada knew the truth.

But in this resolution that will be presented we say something. We condemn absolutely the terms under which the C.N.R. was taken over by the Government of Canada. Let me give you an inkling of how that was done. The policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was to aid the C.N.R. through the prairies east and west of Edmonton in the prairie country. Sir William Mackenzie came to me, when I was Minister of Railways, and asked me to recommend aid further west. I absolutely refused to do so. I said: First get your distributing lines to the Atlantic seaboard, pay your running expenses and then come to us and we will talk to you. What did he do? He went to Sir Robert Borden's great friend, Sir Richard McBride, and got him to pledge the province of British Columbia to guarantee the bonds under a provincial charter by the provisions of which Sir Richard McBride himself, under a signed contract with Sir William Mackenzie, was to control the rates and not the Dominion Board of Railway Commissioners. We, in the Opposition in the House,

moved against it, but we were defeated. But there was something that had not been defeated. The Dominion Government began making the C.N.R. gifts of money west of the Rocky Mountains, not guaranteeing bonds, but giving them millions upon millions of cash. Had the policy of Sir. Wilfrid Laurier been adhered to by the Borden Government, we would never have been in the mess we are in at the present time with the C.N.R. Just as soon as Sir Richard McBride was defeated and the Liberals got the reins, Sir Robert Borden hastened to take that end of the line out of the hands of the Liberal Government in British Columbia and put it under the Railway Commission.

Sir Thomas White said that we had left two babies on his doorstep. I say that we left robust, healthy infants that he strangled by declining to carry out the policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

What happened? They gave the C.N.R. money, more money, more money. The Liberal party and I, as ex-Minister of Railways and Canals, held to our opposition in the House on every occasion and moved an amendment to the proposals of the Government. The Government made a contract in their last loan to the C.N.R. by which automatically, if any failure was made in the repayment, the C.N.R. would come into the ownership of the Dominion Government without process of law. What did we find? In 1917, instead of taking over the C.N.R., if they were going to take it over under the mortgage without process of law, they forced through the House by closure a bill by which they presented the C.N.R. interest with $10,000,000. It is no wonder that Sir William Mackenzie wanted a Union Government and not a Grit Government. The Government had appointed a Commission previously to this which had reported that the common stock of the C.N.R. was valueless. In face of that report made by their present Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton), they handed over by means of the closure, $10,000,000 for the stock to the C.N.R. and the C.N.R. beneficiaries.

I propose in a motion that will be made at a later time to ask that an investigation take place to show where that $10,000,000 went. There are capitalists concerned with C.N.R. interests. This common stock had been given to some of them, it had been pledged to others, and in order that those to whom it had been given should be made rich, although they were millionaires before, and that the main bank from whom they had borrowed the money, might get their money back, we, the people of Canada, in violation of decency and good Government, were robbed of $10,000,000 in the midst of our war effort. While your boy and my boy, were fighting in the trenches in order that freedom and democracy might be preserved, these men who insisted on giving to the boys at the front no bigger pay than $1.10 a day, handed out $10,000,000 to their friends. May I say a word about Union Government?

Cries of "Yes, yes; go on."

MR. GRAHAM: I am not going to criticise those who went into the Union Government, but I am going to criticise those who do not come out. They found their way in; they ought to be able to find their way out if they are not at home. I say I am not going to criticise the men or women who supported Union Government or even went into it. Why? It was a matter between themselves and their Maker and their conscience. The world was in upheaval, the earth trembled, the universe shook. It was no wonder that men in that frame of mind might come to

conclusions which we thought were wrong. I am not criticising them. But I know something about the formation of the Union Government.

Cries of "Tell it to us."

MR. GRAHAM: I think I have a right to tell it now as I have not told it before. Men are in that Government who pretended to be Liberals and who were under contract to come back to the Liberal party when the war was over. The war is over; they have not come back; their places are filled by others. I was offered a place in the Union Government—the first man to be offered it after my chief refused it. I only took three minutes to say "No." When my great old chieftain was treated the way he was in having a policy placed on the statute book, or introduced into the House at least, to which everybody knew he objected, and then insulted by the bluff of asking him to join in that policy which he did not believe in, he refused. When they asked me, I said: "What my chief refused, I will never accept."

Let me tell you further, sir,—and this is something I have never told before—that I was offered the same terms to go into the Union Government that my great chief declined. They made me the proposition that I not only could go into the Union Government, but I could have the choice of any portfolio in it outside of the Prime Ministership, and it was suggested that I might have the portfolio of Minister of War Overseas. Now, mothers and fathers who had boys at the front, what would you have done—you, who may have been inclined to criticise me—what would you have done—getting down in your hearts—with your only child at the front, if you had been offered the position of Overseas Minister of War with the right to go overseas and to conduct the affairs of war? I say, Ladies and Gentlemen, there was no bait the Union Government could have held out that could have made me do what my chief would not do. I declined. I was not three minutes in declining. I came back to Sir Wilfrid and he smiled. He said: "George, I need not ask you what you did; it didn't take you long." Then the proposal was made to me that I could name half of the Cabinet to be composed of my own followers, select them myself, take them in and if there was not then an equal number, I could appoint another Minister without portfolio to make the number equal. I turned it down.

Cries of "Good boy; good boy."

MR. GRAHAM: There was no prouder day in my life than when I shook hands with the Old Man and he said "George, I knew you would not do it." Let me be fair to the memory of the Man who is gone. He never said a word to me protesting whether I should or not; he left me absolutely free to do as I liked, and I am glad to say that I spurned the offer of the Union Government and it is the best thing that ever happened in my life.

There has been a great deal of talk about Sir Robert Borden's persistency in forming the Union Government. Sir Robert Borden did not persist. Sir Clifford Sifton and Sir William Mackenzie persisted. Sir Robert practically threw up his hands as far as his personal effort was concerned when Sir Wilfrid Laurier and I declined his proposal, and the members of the House will bear me out when I say that nothing was heard of the proposal for some days. But, there were interests to be served. The C.N.R. bargain might be repealed before the money could be paid to the interests behind the C.N.R. grab—and those interests persisted until they got a government to their liking which carried out their desires, the desires of the C.N.R. and of the C.N.R. satellites.

Union Government, whatever we may say about it in time of war, has proved a failure in our land in time of peace. You will remember that when the Unionist Government in Great Britain was formed, men who formerly had been Liberals went into that Government and formed what was called the Unionist party. I refer you to history in confirmation of my statement that one of the most reactionary governments that Great Britain ever had was the so-called Unionist Government. So it will be in the Dominion of Canada because Tory principles will be carried out under the name of Unionist by the same men who pretend to call themselves Liberals and who find refuge in good fat offices.

The party system is the proper system if the people's rights are to be protected and if public questions are to be fully discussed. Through it there is behind the Government a body of public opinion, throughout the country there is behind it the party which has brought the Government into office and that party holds the Government in a measure responsible for its conduct. With Union Government every Minister of the Crown evades responsibility by blaming it on some other Minister. Keen criticism on the floor of Parliament means protection to the rights of the common people of Canada and the only way we can have keen criticism is through party government. You can call it Unionist, or whatever you like, but the rights of the people of Canada can only be protected by party government. For me, I am a Liberal, and I believe that the men who stay in there—rechristen themselves whatever they like—are nothing but fossilized Tories.

One of the chief principles of the Liberal party should be the protection of the common people. I do not believe in class distinctions in this country. Thank God, knighthoods are gone. The war has broken down the old partition between what may be called the classes and the result during the last four years has been that the boy who worked in the shop, the boy who worked on the farm, the fisherman, the miner, the lumberman, fought as brave men should and made themselves the equal of the king on his throne as far as the nation is concerned. These men who fought are the princes of the land and their memories will be revered by those who come after us and long after some of the people who hauled themselves into Union Government by their boot tops and kept themselves there by false pretences have been forgotten by the nation and the world.

I was delighted with the speech of my hon. friend, Mackenzie King. There never will be in this country of ours, in the mind of the public, the same distinction as that which existed in the old land between master and servant—the man who served, the man's wife, the man's family—serves honourably. While they and the aristocracy are both members of the great human family, yet the aristocracy has been able to rule over and to oppress them. The time is coming when men will be more on an equality, and women too. Wages and hours are merely incidental, but there is something deep down in the heart of a father of a family who asks for something more than can be satisfied with wages and with shorter hours. He wants something that will respond to the longing of his heart of hearts that his family shall be treated in society as well as the family of his employer. Let me give you a little personal experience. I have a printing shop which employs quite a large number of men. I studied this labour situation for myself. We had eleven hours when I got the business. Then I reduced it to ten; I did not see any diminution in the output. I reduced it to nine and I did not see any diminution

in the output with nine hours a day. I have reduced it again so that now my men work less than eight hours a day and still there is no diminution in the output. Why? I have a happy, contented family of working men around me, prepared to do their best, contented so long as they can get out with their families and spend a few hours in social enjoyment and personal improvement. Let me say to those who may be shrinking from this eight-hour day that you never again can successfully run a business in the Dominion of Canada unless you recognize the full rights of the men earning your money for you.

I went further. I took on my board of five two men from my employees and only at the annual meetings are there any more people at the gathering. We meet together—employees and myself. They know both sides as I do. We never had so much harmony, we never had as big profits, we never had so much contentment in my business as since I took these men on the board and used them as associate directors of my business.

There is one more thing and that is the tariff. I said before that the time had come when the ordinary people had to have a chance. I am not an extremist, but I would point out that we in Canada have to put first things first hereafter. Our only hope of success for the future, in being able to carry our debt and to develop the country, is in full production in every department. Agriculture ought to have those implements by which it is developed without paying toll to everybody. The men who work in the factories ought to have the fullest freedom in order that they may get their living at the lowest possible price. The fisheries are capable of great development; the lumbering industry is capable of great development. If we are going to get the fullest fruition of the policy that will bring results in Canada, we have to allow the producers to live as cheaply as they can and to produce as much as they can. Only by removing from their shoulders the burden of taxation can this be done. We have put a shipbuilding clause in the resolution to which I shall not refer.

We have before us a great work. We believe that the first and most transcendent duty of the democratic people of Canada is to turn the Borden Government out. You cannot mix oil and water; you cannot get blood out of a grindstone and we never can, by pretending to inculcate Liberal principles into that aggregation of men, accomplish the result. The policy that will be best enforced will be the policy that appeals to the men in power and in order to get Liberal principles adopted you must put men in power who are in sympathy with those principles.

I thank you for listening to me so patiently. We have a great work before us. All classes must try to get together, bigotry must be buried and never revived in the Dominion of Canada. It must be spewed out of the mouth. If you ever had it in your heart, put it away from you because you are not true Liberals while you harbour any such feeling as that. We must have fair play to all classes so that we can look to the future with confidence. In the great natural resources of this country we have full and ample provision for the necessities of our own people and to enable us to carry out our obligations in reference to the war debt. Those who come after us may be glad that we have had this Convention in Ottawa and that we have followed the principles for the protection and uplifting of the common people laid down by our great chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, all the days of his life.

HON. MR. STEWART: (Acting Chairman): I have much pleasure in calling upon Mr. D. D. McKenzie to address you.

Mr. D. D. McKenzie (Parliamentary Leader of the Liberal Party): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is rather difficult to address such a large audience at this very late stage in a hard-working day. However, I have been asked to address you now, even at this late hour, and as I never refuse a duty I shall address you if you will do me the honor of listening to me.

Yesterday, it was my privilege to address a few words to the delegates in organizing this meeting. I was glad, indeed, that such a magnificent response had been made to the call that was sent forth for the Convention. I know what the purpose of this gathering is; you are here to get together on a solid foundation in order to carry forward the principles of Liberalism and of the Liberal party; in order to conserve and perpetuate this heritage of Liberalism which was handed down to us by the Great Chieftain who has gone before.

Much has been said tonight about the followers of the great chief. An old American veteran, when he is asked about his part in the war, is proud to say: "I was with Grant." Ladies and gentlemen, like the American veteran, without any further speechmaking to-day, I also can say that I was with Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I was with him through most of his battles; I stood by him to the end; I have nothing to be ashamed of.

It has been said to-day by many of the speakers that they stood firmly to the old gentleman through the election of 1917. I am one who might almost be regarded as a curiosity now, one who came through that election, who nailed his colors to the mast and made no compromise. I am here as an evidence of what could have been done if men had stood firmly to principles. I am not, sir, going to dilate very much upon that; I am going to call your attention shortly to the great differences between the two great parties.

You are called here for the purpose of reaching conclusions as to the platform which we shall lay down, the course that we shall follow, the principles that we shall announce to the people, and the manner in which those principles shall be carried out. There is a little difference, perhaps, between myself and the other speakers in that I have had some responsibility, which most of the speakers did not have during the last few months in this country.

I would like, in the first place, to welcome the delegates here and to thank them for coming; and I do so particularly on behalf of the members of the House of Commons who compose the Opposition. We have a sturdy, bright, capable young Opposition in the House of Commons, who are doing the very best they can to espouse the principles of Liberalism. They are proud to see the response which is made to their call; you are here to help them; you are here to tell them that at the very first opportunity which comes to the people through the medium of the ballot box, the people will supplement the number which makes up that opposition until we shall be given the power of governing this country.

You have heard some of the resolutions that have been passed. You have heard the resolution on trade and the tariff which is one of the principal resolutions submitted to the Convention. I had something to do with that resolution before it came to the main Committee. I approve of it; I stand by it; I will stand by it to the end. It is not proper that any man in this country should permit himself to be destroyed if he can possibly explain his position and keep himself right. When I took the responsibility of being the temporary leader of the Liberal

party, an attempt was made by the Tory and Unionist press of this country to destroy me before the people. The principal thing that they took hold was something I happened to say about the industries of this country; what, in the simplicity of my heart, I thought was necessary for some industries. The Tories wanted to destroy me by saying that I was a high protectionist. They themselves are all high protectionists; they pride themselves in it, but they wanted to destroy me because, as they contended, I also held those views.

How is it that they can be high protectionists and glorify God because they are such, but that they want to damn me eternally if I should say anything along those lines? But I did not say it. I stand by the resolution; I stand by the principles of the Liberal party; I stand by what Sir Wilfrid Laurier laid down as a platform in the last months of his great life. That will be satisfactory to the Canadian people, and whether I continue to occupy a position of responsibility or not does not make any difference. My principles are the same, my support will be the same, my stand in future will be the same as the best exponents of Liberalism. I am not going to make any bid for power, patronage or standing with you. I do not require it; my history tells the Liberal party what I have always been to the cause. For that reason, all I say is this: whatever platform is laid down by this magnificent Convention, that will be my confession of faith until it is submitted to the people, and by it I will stand.

It is not a matter of accident, Mr. Chairman, that the great line of cleavage on principle exists as between the Liberals and the Tories in this country. It is not a matter of accident that we have sitting here with us tonight a man who has been for twenty-three long years, without a change, an exponent of Liberal principles and honesty in the great province of Nova Scotia, from which I come. It is not a matter of accident that for fourteen years before he took charge, another premier, Hon. W. S. Fielding, representing the principles of honesty, integrity and capacity, was in charge of affairs in the province of Nova Scotia. We have in that little province by the sea as intelligent a body of people as can be found in any province of Canada, and what they have found to be right, so far as concerns the principles of Liberalism, so far as concerns honesty, integrity and progress, I am willing to submit and commend to every other province of Canada. We want no change; we know what the right thing is; we are standing by those principles and we commend them to the great body of the people.

It is not a matter of accident that in the province of New Brunswick they have turned down Toryism, of which they had a trial for a few years, with all its damnable rascalities. In the Gem of the Gulf, that industrious, progressive little province of Prince Edward Island, the Tories tried to bedevil the people by offering everything that they could promise, but the good people of that province would not be bribed; they would not bow down before Baal; they cleared him out and they have now a new government. That is not a matter of accident.

For the moment I will pass over the great province of Ontario. I want the people of that province to do some thinking, because a cloud of witnesses is gathering around them; I want them to do some thinking.

I will pass over to the province of Manitoba. I want you to think over the history of that province, the history of Toryism in that province. If you want to get Toryism in its purity, Toryism at its best, Toryism in all its habiliments, in its ugliest form, you will see it in the govern-

ment that was given to us by the Tories in Manitoba. But the good people of that province turned them out and we have an evidence of the result of that action in the Premier of that province, and in many of the members of his government who are in attendance at this Convention. Follow through to the coast and you find that the history is the same; the people will have none of this Tory doctrine; none of these Tory governments.

I spoke of the cloud of witnesses that is surrounding the fair province of Ontario. Some way or other, this spirit of progress; this spirit of truth; this spirit of conviction, seems to have been delayed to some extent in coming to the hearts and minds of the people of Ontario. But it is coming, and at no far distant date. The Pentecostal blessings that have come to the other provinces will fall also like tongues of fire in the province of Ontario, and this miserable leaven of Toryism will be cleaned out and we shall have from coast to coast, from shore to shore, one grand, magnificent army of Liberalism, carrying forward Liberal principles. And then, when we shall have that magnificent army of local governments, that nation-wide unity of thought, that similarity of local ideas and local impressions, the day will come when the Borden Government, the Union Government, will have to give an account of its doings, and it will come up against men and women in this country who will clean them so clear out of office that the place that knew them once shall know them no more forever.

I charge the Borden Government as being a government full of promises, affluent of promises, but absolutely barren in performance. I have no time to go over these things, but let us go back for a moment to the province of British Columbia. What did they promise to the province of British Columbia? They said: "You will have a white British Columbia; you will have better terms of Confederation; everything will be turned upside down and you will scarcely know that it is British Columbia at all." Did the province of British Columbia get better terms? No. Did the province of British Columbia get any one step towards the securing of a white population, as was promised? Nothing of the kind. The promise was made; the performance was absolutely falsified, and I charge the Government with being guilty of deception, with receiving support under false pretences; and for that reason, therefore, they are not worthy any longer to hold power in this country.

I now come to the great central provinces. Did the Tories not promise that their natural resources would be returned to those provinces? The matter was taken up in the House of Commons three or four times this year, and it was put up to the Prime Minister by some of the members from that part of the country, but he had no answer to give. He would not deny in the House of Commons that he made the promise; you will find it in Hansard made three or four times. He would not carry out his promise; his undertakings were not implemented as they ought to be.

These circumstances apply to every province, to everything that they undertook to do and which they have not done. Under these circumstances, can we trust them any longer? How can we believe that men who will not keep their word, who are absolutely indifferent to what kind of promises they make, absolutely indifferent as to what kind of treatment they give the people of this country; how can we believe that they are fit to govern the country? How can we be consistent with the full discharge of our duties and leave them any longer in power, than the

first opportunity that we have in dealing with them in such a way as to drive them from power and to put in their places men who are worthy of the confidences of the people?

Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard so much speaking to-day, that I am under the deepest gratitude to you for listening to me at this late hour of the night, but to-morrow will probably be the last day of the Convention, and I shall not have an opportunity of addressing you further.

Let us hope, sir, that in the days to come we shall have carried out the principles which we have laid down in these different resolutions. Let us hope that we shall make this country a happy free country, in which men and women can live comfortably, a country which will grow and develop like our neighbour to the south of us. We have territory; we have plenty of room for a population as large as they have in the United States, something over a hundred million. Let us put our hands to the plow and see to it that the conditions are made such in this country that men and women of the proper type will flock to Canada; that our own population will stay with us, and that we shall have a happy and contented people, as they have on the other side of the line.

Let us have a condition of government in this country that will command the respect of people, the respect of labour, the respect of the returned soldiers; that will command the confidence and respect of every man in this country. And then this discontent, this dissatisfaction, this so-called Bolshevism that is supposed to exist in some parts of the country, will disappear and the happy conditions which were brought about in Canada during the regime of the great chief, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, will come back again, a tide of desirable immigration will flow into this country, and our own people will stay by us. In the Tory days, millions of dollars were spent to get people into this country; we took them in at great expense; but in the day of the census we could not find them; they were like the Scotchmen's flea, when you put your finger on it it is not there at all. That was the condition in this country, men and women were brought here, but the circumstances and conditions were such that they did not remain. Our proposal is that the country shall be developed along lines that will make Canada a happy country, a free country, a country in which the citizens can depend upon the promises of the government—a country in which every right of citizenship shall be upheld.

Mr. Chairman, I have many other things to say, but hardly a thing that could be said has not been said by others who have spoken before me. I must say again that I am very thankful to this great body for having waited to hear what I had to say.

The Convention gave three cheers for Mr. McKenzie.

The Resolution with regard to labour and industrial conditions, which was moved by Mr. King and seconded by Mr. Roebuck, was adopted.

The Convention adjourned at 11 o'clock p.m. until 10.30 a.m. Thursday.

THE CONVENTION IN SESSION

National Liberal Convention

PROGRAMME

Thursday, August 7th, 1919

MORNING SITTINGS

1. Convention resumes at 10 a.m.
2. Consideration of Resolutions, reported by Resolutions Committee, and speeches by prominent Liberals from different Provinces.
3. Adjournment for lunch at 12.30 p.m.

AFTERNOON SITTINGS

4. At 2 p.m. the Delegates from each Province will meet in their respective Committee Rooms in the rear of the Convention Hall and will receive from their respective Chairmen and Secretaries other official books of ballots to be used in voting for the election of the leader of the Liberal Party.

   Immediately upon receiving the official books of ballots the delegates will return to the Convention Hall and take their places within the circle and in the locations designated by the cards indicating the seating of each Province.
5. At 3.30 p.m. the Convention will resume its sittings.

   The Chairman will read the names of those nominated for Leader, and will read again the rules adopted for governing the voting.

   After the withdrawal of such Candidates as may withdraw, the Chairman will announce the names of those who remain in the contest and the voting will then proceed in accordance with the rules read.
6. After the voting has been concluded, unfinished business will be disposed of.

Thursday, August 7th, 1919

MORNING SESSION

The Convention resumed at 10.45 a.m. on Thursday, August 7th, with the Hon. Mr. Murray in the Chair.

The Report of the Committee on Credentials was received and adopted.

HON. MR. MURRAY: Once more I wish to draw the attention of the delegates to the fact that it will be necessary for all of them, when this Convention adjourns at 12.30 a.m. to-day, to retire to their committee rooms in the rear of this Hall at two o'clock and there receive the official books of ballots. Apparently, when this announcement was made last night it was not fully understood, and I am told that some of our press friends—who by the way have done excellent work and to all of whom we are under a deep obligation—seem to have misconstrued the announcement—or their newspapers did—and stated that the ballot boxes would be distributed at two o'clock. The delegates are not interested in the ballot boxes; they are interested in the ballots. At two o'clock, then, all the delegates will be in their respective provincial committee rooms and there they will receive their books of ballots. The ballot boxes will be taken care of under another regulation provided for the orderly conduct of this Convention. I am further requested to announce that Mr. Dewart would like to meet western Ontario delegates in the Ontario room at 12 o'clock to-day.

Hon. Mr. Murray: We will not proceed to the consideration of resolutions. I have a report in my hand from the Committee on Resolutions recommending to the consideration of the Convention a resolution in regard to the encouragement of agriculture. This resolution will be moved by the Hon. Mr. Fisher, Minister of Agriculture in the late Liberal Government, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Tweeddale, Minister of Agriculture in the Government of New Brunswick.

Hon. Sydney Fisher: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to move the following resolution:

> "In the interest of agricultural production and development it is expedient to encourage co-operation and induce greater investment in farming; therefore, it is deemed expedient to utilize the national credit to assist co-operative Agricultural Credit Associations to provide capital for agriculture at the lowest possible rates.
>
> "With the object of reducing the high cost of living by eliminating as far as possible the waste and expense in handling food products between the producer and consumer, it is expedient to extend the principle and system of Canadian Government Elevators and to provide interior and terminal cold storage warehouses equipped for the assembling, assorting, preparing, storing and grading of food products in order that co-operative organizations and others may have available to them reliable, modern equipment, for the distribution of farm products in superior condition and at lessened cost either for domestic consumption or for export. And that cold storage transportation facilities should be provided at the cost of operation, for the shipment of food products throughout Canada and for the carrying to the markets of the world the surplus farm products of this country and delivering them in such condition that will make Canadian foodstuffs a standard of quality for the world's market.
>
> "That in the interests of agriculture, in aid of greater production on the land, and for the conservation of the soil in Canada, it is expedient for the Government to arrange for the distribution of fertilizers at the lowest possible cost.
>
> "Your Committee on Agriculture begs to recommend that a Special Committee be appointed to prepare a resolution upon the banking system of Canada and the adapting of said system to satisfactory loans in connection with land and live stock, and to present such resolution to your Committee."

I thank you for the reception of this manificent gathering which I can only take not to myself personally but as being intended for one who has for thirty odd years laboured in the cause of Liberalism in Canada. I drank in the principles of Liberalism when a boy from my father, who was a radical citizen in those days. I have been confirmed in this during my educational course at Cambridge University in England, where I was at the time of the splendid exposition of Liberalism by the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain. I came back to Canada to enter into the conflicts in support of that grand old Liberal, whose name was the synonym of duty and devotion to the public interest, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. I had the honour to bear the burden of the fight in my country at the time that the National Policy was sweeping this country and Alexander Mackenzie went down to defeat, and I had the proud

satisfaction of knowing that we wrested the county of Brome from the Conservatives and put it in the ranks of Liberalism and against the National Policy. I had the honour to accompany our revered leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in many of his pilgrimages through Canada. I had the honour of being his colleague during the fifteen-year period of the Liberal Administration, and I do not think I am wrong in saying that I am proud of the record of that Government and that we showed the benefit of Liberalism to the people of Canada. I believe so thoroughly in Liberalism that I cannot for a moment have patience with those who ally themselves with the fundamental doctrines of Toryism, with the privileged classes, who legislate for plunder of the public chest. What is Liberalism? It is the principle of government for the people, in the interest of the mass of the people, to protect the people from those who wish to interfere with their liberties, their privileges and their rights. I am devoted to that principle in its application to the administration of public affairs.

In the old land Liberalism introduced the great Reform Bill of 1832 by which in the face of entrenched privilege the people were invited to participate in the election of their own representatives. Liberalism was embodied in the Home Rule policy of the Right Hon. Mr. Gladstone, because in that rights were given to the Irish people which they demanded and to which they were entitled. Later on Liberalism was embodied in the great budget of Lloyd George, when he gave it to be understood that private and privileged individuals should not be able to escape from their fair share of the taxation necessary to carry on the government of the country. At that time Lloyd George was abused by entrenched and privileged Toryism in England. He was denounced as a Socialist and if the word had then been coined he would have been called a Bolshevist. But to-day Lloyd George has allied himself with those powers and he is therefore lauded to the skies as a great statesman.

In Canada, Liberalism goes back to the inception of representative and responsible Government. It was the Liberals who, under Baldwin and Lafontaine, secured for us the right to self-government and put an end to the family compact and entrenched bigotry which, up to that time, under the aegis of the Home Government, had controlled the affairs of this country. It was Baldwin, Lafontaine and their colleagues, the Liberal leaders of that day, who secured for you and me the privilege of electing our own representatives to carry on the affairs of this country, responsible to the people of this country alone. Later on we had further movements in favour of Liberalism. It was Alexander Mackenzie who introduced the ballot box, which gave the people of this country the privilege of voting without those who had them in their grip knowing how they voted or controlling their vote. To-day we have advanced to another point. We have had great interests and privileges in this country. I have said that in this great war the boys from Canada were fighting for democracy, fighting to destroy the autocracy represented by the Hun. We have not had in this country the autocracy of kings and emperors like they had in Europe, but we have an oligarchy, a plutocracy composed of certain people who have controlled the destiny of the country and the administration of the Government. We Liberals to-day are out to destroy the control of that plutocracy in Canada and we can do it only by a combination with and alliance of all those in the country, wherever they are, whether on the farm or in the workshop, who are determined that Canada shall be a truly democratic country, and who

realize that they must defeat the Tory Government which to-day is in existence at Ottawa. I ask you to join hands one with another, without any reference to the locality in which you happen to live, without any reference to the occupation from which you obtain your living, to bring Canada back to the old days of responsible government, responsible to the representatives of the people, elected by a free, honest and equal franchise, because if you want to do that you must elect a Parliament which will turn the present Government out of power.

I have proposed a resolution for the encouragement of agriculture. I am not going to use the banal phrase that agriculture is the basis of Canadian prosperity. I am not going to make a special appeal to agriculture or to the farmers of the country. The farmers to-day are coming into their own. In days gone by the agriculture and rural life of Canada were dominated by other interests because they were not organized, because they did not know their own strength, because they hardly knew their own needs and demands. We have seen lately in Canada a splendid vindication not only of the desires of rural Canada, but of the capacity of rural Canada to formulate those demands and to organize for the purpose of carrying them out. We have large farmers' organizations throughout the length and breadth of the land. They have expressed their views in clear-cut terms. They have demanded certain things but, ladies and gentlemen, unless agriculture in Canada can be put upon a paying basis, the people who are engaged in it cannot be satisfied and contented citizens, nor can they have the just reward of their toil and business capacity. Therefore, this resolution demands that we endorse the principle of co-operation. Personally, I believe that co-operation is the keynote of agricultural prosperity in Canada as it has shown its power and success in various other agricultural countries. Denmark is a country whose name is on the lips of everybody by reason of the change it has made in its system of finance, its social system and its system of business. The people of Denmark have succeeded in taking their country out of the position of a small, poor, unorganized country, and placing it in the van of those whose boast it is that the people of the country have a proper and fair share in the distribution of wealth. They have been eminently successful in making their country prosperous. There are other countries which have also succeeded in this. In Ireland, co-operation has changed the face of rural life. It was said one day not long ago—I do not quote it as a model—the worst enemy of the Nationalist was the Irish Co-operative Association. Why? Because they made the people so prosperous and contented that they forgot to agitate. I believe that in Canada the principle of co-operation has been successfully inaugurated, that it should be extended and that it is in the interest of the country at large to loan the national credit in aid of those agricultual co-operative associations which are the basis of the conditions for extending agricultural credits to the farmers. Do not be alarmed by the idea that the national credit would thereby be imperilled. There is no security in this country for national, private or corporate money better or surer than the security of the agricultural lands of Canada. If the national credit is pledged on that security, there is no danger but that the pledge will be met or that the interest will be met and the country will not be burdened with a greater expenditure or a greater debt. Therefore, the first clause of this resolution is:

"THAT in the interest of agricultural production and development it is expedient to encourage co-operation and induce greater investment in farming; therefore, it is deemed expedient to utilize the national credit to assist co-operative Agricultural Credit Associations to provide capital for agriculture at the lowest possible rates."

My own experience, and my own feeling, is that the farmers have two or three main difficulties to contend with. One is lack of labor, and another is lack of organization and business methods in conducting their business. A third is lack of working capital to carry on their business. Any business man will know, and you all know, that you must have capital to invest in the plant of your business, but you must also have credit with which to work so that you will be able to carry on your business in the most economical and successful way. Agricultural Credit Associations are doing this to a small extent in Canada. I believe that systems should be widely extended and I further believe that there is no investment of the public credit which will be of greater advantage to the people of Canada than to assist these Agricultural Credit Associations and thus enable the farmers to get, on easy terms, the money which is necessary to carry on their business.

The second paragraph of the resolution is one which is a little more intricate, and perhaps a little explanation to those who are not farmers would be wise. Our western agricultural organizations have been the most successful in Canada in introducing co-operation and in so managing the business as to ensure the success of the farmers. In the West the great agricultural industry is the raising of grain, and, in the marketing of that grain elevators are absolutely essential to the successful working of the business. For some time we have had elevators. These were inaugurated by private enterprise. Some people thought that they took too large a share of the profits of the industry, and as a result of that, after a period of agitation, and after a period of consideration, after a period of investigation, the Government of Canada established three or four Government elevators. These Government elevators are providing a service at cost to the grain-growers and the people engaged in that business. The system has been an absolute success in two ways. In the first place, it has regulated the charge for the service of storing, cleaning and grading the grain, and, in the second place, it has imposed, in no sense or way, nor to the extent of one cent, any burden upon the people of this country, because these elevators have been managed strictly on the basis of service at cost, the charges have been regulated by the cost of the service, the cost has been moderate and the system has paid for itself absolutely.

We propose to extend that and to extend the principle of the system. We propose furthermore to extend that same principle to cold storage warehouses. The idea of cold storage is rather in the air. A great many people in Canada are denouncing cold storage. They are confusing the cause with the effect. Cold storage is absolutely necessary for the proper conservation and storage of our perishable food products. Warehouses for cold storage purposes, equipped with the necessary equipment and facilities for the collection, storage and care of our agricultural products of a perishable character, are just as necessary to eastern agriculture and, to a great extent, to western agriculture, as the elevator is to the man who is only raising grain on his land. We, therefore, propose that the system which has been applied to the elevators should be extended to cold storage warehouses, and that facilities should there be

supplied at cost for the benefit of those whose products are entered there, for the benefit of the consumers of the country, for the assistance of the export trade and for the purpose of reducing the high cost of living.

We all believe—we all know—that the farmer does not get the price which is charged to the final consumer of the food that the farmer produces. We all know that a large proportion of the high cost of living is due to the cost of distribution and we propose to try and eliminate the waste and expense which occurs on the way from the original producers to the final consumer. For this purpose we propose to encourage and assist, in the same way as the elevators have been arranged for, the establishment of cold storage warehouses, owned by the Government and operated at cost for the benefit of those who use them. This would apply to the interior consumption of these food products in Canada and it would, therefore, help to reduce the high cost of living, and help the Canadian city consumer. It would also apply to the export trade in our surplus agricultural products, by which the debts of Canada abroad are almost entirely paid. Under these circumstances, we ask you to endorse this principle. Then we ask you to endorse the idea that the Government should try and arrange to facilitate the transportation of fertilizers. This may not appeal to as many as the other things, but, as a matter of fact, especially in the fruit industry, a very large quantity of artificial fertilizers is, and can be, used to advantage. The farmers find that the price at which these fertilizers are transported and distributed to them is such that it almost prohibits their use in any large quantity. They ask that steps be taken to remove that difficulty so as to permit of the wide distribution of these articles.

There is a fourth proposition here. We did not undertake to deal with it in the Agricultural Committee. We asked, however, that another committee should deal with the question of banking in Canada. I do not know whether that committee has met and proposed a resolution. The agricultural interests of this country require that greater facilities, over and above that afforded by co-operative organizations, should be provided for people engaged in the agricultural industry for the obtaining of money at reasonable rates. We believe that the banking system of Canada—and we are making no accusation against it in that respect—was framed for the purpose of assisting the commercial interests of the country and not the farming interests and that it is time some amendment was made to the Banking Act by which the farmers, and those engaged in agriculture, might have greater assistance from the capital entrusted to the hands of the bankers. These are the points that I have to lay before you. I would ask you to endorse this resolution and to pass it as an expression of the feeling and opinion of the Liberal party of Canada in their willingness and anxiety to aid those engaged in the agricultural industry of this country.

Hon. Mr. Murray: This resolution will be seconded by the Hon. Mr. Tweeddale of New Brunswick.

Hon. J. Fletcher Tweeddale (Minister of Agriculture for the Province of New Brunswick): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, in discussing the subject matter of this resolution as it is submitted to you this morning, I may say that the subject is of so much importance that it can hardly be expected that the mover or the seconder in the time that is allotted would be enabled to bring out all of its features, but I believe that the question is one of the most important that has been submitted to this Convention. Eloquent references have been made to the fact

by the speakers who have preceded me that we have just emerged from this tremendous war and that our boys, who have made sacrifices shoulder to shoulder with the allied forces, have come back with the banner of victory. We are up against the other question as to how we are going to organize this country under the new conditions, pay off our debt, and become again a prosperous and contented people. In consequence of this great war, we read in the public press that there is an upheaval and a disturbance with regard to trade, social and industrial relations and that problems are presented to us, the solution of which will tax the greatest minds of the age. Fortunately in this country the young men who went over to fight our battles, to protect our homes and to provide assistance in maintaining the principle of British institutions and the constitution under which we live in this country and by which we govern ourselves, have declared that they will not tolerate Bolshevism in Canada. These are splendid words coming from our returned soldiers. Since we have attained a victory in the war, it is the business of every true Canadian to see to it that we shall not Bolshevik in regard to the tremendous national debt that has been incurred in consequence of the war. Previous speakers have said that Canada, not only in treasure but in blood as well, has contributed more to the success of the war than any other nation on the face of the globe in proportion to its population. We have no fear in regard to our ability to meet this liability and we are not going to Bolshevik in regard to it or to repudiate it but we are going to go forward and to organize this country.

What is this country? Do the inhabitants of Canada ever stop to think what a magnificent heritage they possess? Canada is a country great in area, it has tremendous natural resources and it has a people who, while they may be comparatively small in numbers, possess the qualities which have been demonstrated by the young men who have gone overseas and have made a name not only for themselves but for Canada in the great contest where they were up against conditions under which they did not hesitate to lay down their lives for the principles of freedom and democracy. When you have material in this country of that quality, and when you have resources of the character which I have indicated, you need have no fear of the ability of this country, with proper Government, to come out of its trouble and become a prosperous people again.

The question of agriculture is a large one. In the past the ordinary farmer has been looked upon as being an inferior one, but let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that it is to our agricultural capabilities that we have to look to meet the great demands that will come upon us by reason of the indebtedness we have assumed in consequence of the war. We may discuss the tariff, we may discuss business, we may discuss associations of business, we may discuss immigration, but there is only one way by which we can come out of this trouble and that is by production. You have to produce something. Take a man who has a good knowledge of business principles, drop him down in a strange country, if he wants to know whether it is a desirable country to live in, the first question he asks is: "What are the imports of this country?" Then "What are the exports of this country?" That is a simple problem but it is a sound proposition and it is a problem that must be plain to us under present conditions. The country that is exporting more than it is importing has more money coming in than is going out and the country is becoming wealthier every day. Under present conditions

you see things that at times are almost alarming, but you have faith in your banking interests and in the securities of your country. You will find, if you go to do business across the line with our neighbours to the south of us, that they are discounting our money to the extent of 5.2/8 per cent. Why is that?—not because it has no value, not because they fear we are going to repudiate our obligations or go into bankruptcy, but because the balance of trade is against us. There is the great trouble we have. The importance of agriculture will be more apparent when I make the statement, verified by facts and statistics, that it produces more wealth in one year than our forest, mines and fisheries. Of the main things that we have to look to among our natural resources to meet our liabilities, are, first, agriculture, and next, forests, mines and fisheries. These are the four sources that we have to rely upon to restore this country to a sound and healthy condition. Of these agriculture is the greatest. She produces more wealth in a given period than the other three combined. Now, do you see the importance of it? Now, do you see how, when we are discussing this question here with regard to platforms, and arranging these matters in the best interests of the country, we must give due consideration to the important part the farmer plays in prompting the welfare of the country?

At this point Mr. Tweeddale's remarks were interrupted by the appearance of the Hon. W. S. Fielding upon the platform, and the demonstration with which his arrival was heralded.

Continuing Mr. Tweeddale said: The Tory press, and the Tory politicians will say to you: "Why this platform is not sound under present conditions is because we can never pay our bonded debt and the liabilities that have been imposed upon the country in consequence of the war unless we keep the tariff on the implements that are made in this country." Let us see how that works out in its application. Some people say that it is inconsistent to take away the tariff when you want revenue and you have liabilities to meet. If you put $100 on the flour mill that the farmer grinds his grain with, if you put $50 on his threshing machine, if you put $25 on his binder, if you put $10 on his mower, if you put $5 on his horse rake and ten cents on every harrow tooth used in the cultivation of his soil, you take away the money that that man has earned with the toil of his hands and the sweat of his brow and transfer it to the bank account of the manufacturer who has millions which have been contributed by that man and his fellow farmers. It does not contribute one single farthing towards meeting the liabilities and the debt of the country. You can see the effect of that. You have had it demonstrated to you.

The farmers of this country have always been clamoring for reciprocity with the United States in natural products. You have to get an outside market for your stuff. What is the use of increasing production unless you know what you are going to do with it? Most of it must be consumed in the country in which it is produced. The reciprocity arrangement with the United States was a popular one, and it was a surprise to the country that the Laurier Government were able to accomplish it. The mistake they made was that they did not put it into effect so as to show the benefit of it rather than to take a referendum of the people because, as soon as they saw it was going to be a boon to the country and would mean millions of dollars for the farmers who had for so many years been contributing to the support of the manufacturers, they said that the people should be consulted. They took the money which had

been contributed by the farmers of Canada, they employed editors at fabulous sums to write editorials in opposition to reciprocity, they employed all the agencies at their command to create a public opinion hostile to that policy and it would startle you to be told the amount of money that they circulated throughout the country for the purpose of corrupting constituencies. That was your money. These people wanted to have this system perpetuated so that the money would continue to flow into their bank accounts as automatically as the rivers of the country are flowing to the ocean. These are the things that we must have remedied or they will occur again. The conditions which exist to-day are most unsatisfactory but the people are awake, they are aware of the conditions and they are not going to be influenced by money. They are looking to the success and prosperity of this country and they feel that under present conditions it is the duty of every honest citizen to disregard the politics that may be put over to them, the arguments, persuasion, inducements, bribery and everything else in order to get a party in power that will be representative of the great mass of the people in the country.

The question of agriculture cannot be discussed unless it is associated with the question of the tariff, unless it is associated with the question of transportation and unless it is associated with the question of our trade relations with other countries. I am very sorry to note from the newspaper reports that the reciprocity arrangement with the United States is to be taken off the statute books of that country. At the time reciprocity was under discussion the Tory party, in taking the stand they did, were guilty of hypocrisy. We had an illustration of that in the province of New Brunswick and you will see how it applied. At the time the reciprocity question was before the country, the Government of New Brunswick had undertaken the construction of a railway through the St. John valley that was to cost $6,000,000 or $8,000,000 of the people's money. At that very time they were saying to the people: "You must have no truck or trade with the Yankees." When it came to the question of letting a contract for the construction of that railway, they went over the heads of the men of their own province, who had splendid equipment and great experience, and who had gone into other countries and carried out contracts profitably to themselves and satisfactorily to the people with whom they undertook these contracts. Did they get the contract for the construction of this railway? Not at all. While they were talking about "no truck or trade with the Yankees," and when they had $6,000,000 of the people's money to spend, they went across the boundary line and gave the contract to a man named Gould, an American citizen, who never had any experience in railway building and didn't own a pick-axe or a wheelbarrow, and our own men had to go to him to get opportunities to earn their own money in the performance of that work. You will find this political hypocrisy existing throughout the whole administration, whether it is in Dominion or provincial politics, because you will always find that where Toryism is that same principle will apply.

I am glad to see the response to the call that has brought you people from all parts of the Dominion here to consider these questions. I believe in my heart that when you go home to your several constituencies in the country the cry of prejudice will be banished and that you will no longer countenance or tolerate it. We have to live as one people in this country and we have to respect every man's nationality. We have

to do more than that. We have to be fair enough to afford to every man the same privileges that we enjoy and demand for ourselves and we must concede to him the right to worship at his own shrine. That is purely a matter between ourselves individually and our Maker.

MR. JOHN KING (Fort William): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have a question to ask. I do so in order to see if I correctly understand the purpose of the resolution that is before us now. The Hon. Mr. Fisher and Mr. Tweeddale have mentioned that it is the intention of the Liberal party to take over the cold storages. Is that right?

MR. FISHER: No.

MR. KING: Then what does the resolution propose?

MR. FISHER: The idea is to have Government cold storage facilities at cost and in that way regulate, and practically control, the rates which private cold storages can charge to the people.

MR. KING: Does that include yards and slaughter houses?

MR. FISHER: No.

MR. KING: Well then you will not have very much more than you have now. We want to get something in the line of what you have advanced by which a farmer can take his car of cattle to the cold storage yards and slaughter houses, have his cattle slaughtered and inspected so that he can get a receipt for his goods and place them on the market the same as we place our grain on the market to-day. In this way the farmer can sell his goods, the consumer will get the benefit and we will cut down the high cost of living that we are talking about. This is the most important question that has been dealt with because the howl over the country is that we have to pay too much for our meat. This is the only system by which you can remedy that condition and reduce the price of meat to the consumer. These stock yards and cold storages would kill and store the meat for the farmer and then give him a receipt for the product. I am not saying this for the purpose of interfering with the resolution you have on the table, but it is well to remember, in view of the high cost of living, that if we are going to have cheaper meat than we have to-day we must have cold storages that can deal with the farmer and where the farmer can get the protection of having yards and slaughter houses under the control of the Government.

The resolution was adopted.

RECIPROCITY

HON. MR. STEWART (Acting Chairman): The resolution with regard to Reciprocity will now be moved by Hon. W. S. Fielding, and seconded by Mr. N. T. MacMillan, of Manitoba.

HON. W. S. FIELDING (Member for Shelburne and Queen's) moved:—

"THAT the Reciprocity Agreement negotiated with the United States by the Liberal Government of Canada in 1911 was a measure which realized the hopes that had been entertained and efforts made for better trade relations between Canada and the neighbouring republic by the statesmen of both political parties in the Dominion from the beginning of the Dominion's history.

"THAT the Agreement was fair and just to both countries and well calculated to promote the good relations so desirable;

"THAT the action of the Conservative party under the leadership of Mr. (now Sir Robert) Borden, in opposing and defeating the Agreement, was a sacrifice of the best interests of Canada for distinctly partisan ends.

"THAT the insincerity of the movement of the Conservative leaders on that question has been abundantly evidenced by the fact that after coming into office they proceeded to make some of the very tariff changes, a denunciation of which was their chief ground in the elections of 1911.

"THAT the action of the Conservative leaders in preventing the consummation of so excellent an arrangement between the two countries deserves and should still receive, whenever the opportunity occurs, the severe condemnation of the Canadian people.

"THAT the Reciprocity Agreement was approved in 1911 by the Congress of the United States, and the law giving such approval still remains on the American statute book.

"THAT if the proposal lately made in the Congress to repeal the said law be carried out, the people of Canada will have no cause to complain, since the Americans have kept the law unimpaired for the long term of eight years during which Canada has made no move to avail herself of its provisions.

"THAT while, for these reasons, this Convention can take no exception to the proposal so made at Washington, we as Liberals again place on record our appreciation of the object of the said Agreement and our faith in the principles of friendly international relations underlying it, and we express our earnest hope that in both countries such principles will be upheld, and that a favourable moment may come when there will be a renewed manifestation by the two Governments of a desire to make some similar arrangement."

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

History is repeating itself. As I have looked upon this great gathering of Liberals of Canada, my mind has naturally turned back to the great Convention of 1893, the first convention of the Liberal party. I wonder if there is any special magic for us in the figures "twenty-six." It was exactly twenty-six years from the beginning of Confederation to the date of the first Liberal Convention, and it so happens that it is exactly twenty-six years from that time to the present, when the second Liberal Convention is assembled. So it seems to me that the Liberal leaders can be trusted to get along for about a quarter of a century, with an extra year added on, but that once in twenty-six years you have to call them to account and give them their marching orders.

The Convention of 1893 was a great success in every respect. It brought the Liberals from the East, and from the West, North and South together, and that alone is a good thing; it is a good thing to see each other from ocean to ocean. The delegation from our western land at that time was a small one. The Great West has become greater since that time, and we rejoice to know that in this Convention we have a large representation of the people who, during these twenty-six years, have settled the great plains which we are proud to speak of as our prairie provinces.

Twenty-six years ago, then, the first great Liberal Convention was held, and three years afterwards the Liberals came into power. Now, it is worth remembering that of these twenty-six years fifteen were years of Liberal government, and it is worth remembering also that at the end of these fifteen years about the only thing that the Tories were able to say against the Liberals was that we had made the country so prosperous, and so happy, that we should not disturb it—"Let things alone," was their cry in 1911. Well, I do not think that at the end of any period of

Conservative administration—or, if they please to call it by another name, Unionist administration—you are likely to have anybody make the cry: "Things are so happy, and prosperous, and good, that you had better let them alone."

Three years after the last Convention there came the great victory; may it not be a fair anticipation that this great gathering, larger, greater in every respect than the first, will be the prelude to a great Liberal victory which will come at a very early day?

We are proud to claim that the Liberal party is the party of the people. Sometimes our Conservative friends laugh at that and say: "Why, we are all for the people; we are the party of the people, as much as you are." Well, let me give you a little instance which will show that they are mistaken. I think it was Mr. Gladstone who, when called upon to define what Liberalism was, said that "Liberalism meant trust in the people." That is a good maxim. The people are not always right; they may be misled by catchpenny cries, flag-wavings, and such slogans as "No truck and trade with the Yankees;" but they get right in the end. Whether they are right or wrong, I think it was Sir John A. Macdonald who once said, "It is the undoubted right of the people to be wrong, if they want to be." Whether they are right or wrong, we Liberals recognize the principle that we must trust the people. And how do we trust them? I want to give you an interesting fact. The Liberals of Canada have trusted the people by having two great conventions, and the Tories of Canada have never dared to have a national convention in this Dominion. Time and again leading journals of the Conservative party have announced that there was to be a convention. More than once Conservative leaders have intimated that they were going to have a convention. But when they came up against it, they discovered that it was too dangerous a thing to have a convention; they could not trust the people.

The Liberal party in 1893, and in 1919, has given proof of its belief in the doctrine of Gladstone that Liberalism means the trusting of the people.

I am asked to move a resolution on a subject which is dear to my heart. Its subject was spoken to a few minutes ago by the gentleman who preceded me; he incidentally referred to it more than once.

We are a people scattered over so large a territory, made up of so many different elements, that it is inevitable that we should have many causes of difference. A sparse population, occupying vast territory—that in itself sometimes creates differences. We have our East and our West; we have our differences of race and creed; and Heaven help us from having anything of the kind again. One of our great missions to-day should be to see that so far as Liberals are concerned no such questions shall be permitted to divide us. But it is inevitable, I say, that upon many questions we shall be divided. How glad we should be then, to find some great question upon which we can all be united. If ever there was a question in the history of this Dominion upon which the people of Canada were united, it was in their desire to have better trade relations with the United States. I am old enough to look back to the days of 1866, when the reciprocity treaty of 1854 was brought to an end. I remember that from the various provinces before Confederation—aye, and from the Dominion when Confederation was formed in 1867—delegations went to Washington and begged the Americans not to put an end to the Treaty. Without regard to party, every public man in

Canada, whether he called himself Liberal or Conservative, held that for the prosperity and happiness and contentment of these Canadian provinces we ought to have good trade relations with the neighboring republic. It was the one question above all others in which we agreed. Delegation after delegation went to Washington; again and again efforts were made to secure a renewal of the Treaty; but, unfortunately, our American friends were not in the best of humor. Owing to various causes which we need not dilate upon to-day, they had conceived unfriendliness to us; at all events, their tariff policy was unfriendly to us, and there came a moment when as a matter of pride we said: "We will go no more to Washington to ask for favors; we have held out the olive branch; if they want to accept it, well and good; if they will not do so, we will go our own way." And so we did. Then there came a moment when better counsels prevailed at Washington, when the statesmen of that great nation were free to admit that their policy during past years had not been a friendly and a generous one to these great neighbors of the North. One of the newspapers of the United States, a short time ago in the midst of the troubles in Mexico, said: "When we think of Mexico we should thank God for Canada on the North." The statesmen of the American Union, looking back and realizing that they had not been as fair, as just, as generous, as they ought to have been, came forward and said: "We are ready to hold out the olive branch; we are anxious to have friendly relations with Canada; we are willing to try to make amends for the past; will you meet us and talk the matter over?" And we did meet them, and we talked the matter over; and it was the good fortune of my friend, Mr. Paterson, one of the whitest souls who ever took part in politics in Canada, and myself, to be able to make an agreement with the authorities at Washington.

We came back to Ottawa. I well remember the day when it was my privilege to unfold that agreement before the House of Commons of Canada. There was on all sides an appreciation of the fact that the making of the agreement was a good thing for Canada. Not only did Liberals feel that way; "e'en the ranks of Tuscany could scarce forbear a cheer." A prominent Conservative friend told me afterwards that he could not understand the attitude of the Conservative party on that question. He said: "I sat in the gallery of the House of Commons, Mr. Fielding, the day that you unfolded the reciprocity agreement, and I saw the Conservatives applauding you"—and it was applauded. Some men said: "Oh, there is a nigger in the fence somewhere; this thing seems too good to be true." One eminent Conservative member said in my hearing: "I have to support that, for there is no question that that is what the people of Canada want."

Well, I have too much respect for the intelligence of Sir Robert Borden to believe that he ever regarded the reciprocity movement as a dangerous thing. I am persuaded that he knew as well as I knew, as well as you knew, that it was a good thing to have better trade relations with the great republic to the South, and that the agreement that we had brought back was a fair, a just, a reasonable agreement. But he was influenced by great interests which were unwise, even from their own point of view, in opposing that arrangement. Great interests organized to defeat it. The manufacturers of Canada—not all of them, but many of them—were unwise enough to organize to defeat that agreement. The agreement dealt very tenderly with the manufacturers, so tenderly that some of you western men thought we might very well have gone a little further.

At all events, there was nothing in the agreement that justified their hostility. But they organized with their campaign funds. It is said that it is the only occasion in history upon which there was more money for the purposes of an election than could be absorbed. Moneys were turned back—I never heard of such a thing before. It is said that they absolutely put up so much money to defeat the reciprocity agreement that the whole of it could not be spent.

Well, they did defeat the agreement. I heard a prominent member of the Canadian Parliament say, speaking a short time ago, of the manufacturers: "You have been sowing a wind, you will reap a whirlwind. We were willing to deal generously with you; you have attacked us; you have endeavored to destroy us, you cannot complain if we hit back when the chance comes; it is only human."

Well, sir, that agreement—which, I venture to say was incapable of being assailed on its merits—was bitterly opposed, as you know, by all sorts of foolish cries. And what did we find? When the Government came into power on that cry, did they carry out their pledges? If there was anything in the world which brought the Conservative Government into power in 1911, it was the cry of: "No truck or trade with the Yankees." It is true that my good friend, Sir Thomas White, modestly disclaimed having invented the phrase himself, but whoever invented it, it had this merit—it was a correct description of the campaign made against the Laurier Government in 1911. Sometimes, you know, men in opposition say things rashly—we have to guard against that as a Liberal party in opposition; when they get into power and have the responsibility of government thrust upon them, they discover the impossibility of carrying out the policies of which they talked so much. And what did we find? It was not long before the new Government which came into power in 1911 sent delegates down to Washington to endeavor to trade, to beg that they might have permission to do some of the very things which the reciprocity agreement provided for, and which had been condemned by the Conservatives on every political platform throughout the Dominion of Canada.

I claim sincerity as a great thing in politics, and so it should be. Politics is not a mere game; it should not be a mere game. Unless there is at the bottom of it a conviction that a man is doing that which he believes to be right; unless there is a conviction that the policy that he has before him is good for the country, then it is a poor, miserable game, carried on for the sake of power.

It is as clear as possible, then, that a mere game was played by the Conservative party in 1911; that men who believed in reciprocity and who cheered for reciprocity in the House of Commons; men who wrote editorials in the papers, favorable to reciprocity, were brought down by the crack of the party whip, and when the party's machine was set in motion they united to destroy what I do not hesitate to say was one of the best measures ever proposed in the Dominion of Canada.

In a long period of public life, I hope it is not immodest for me to say that I have tried to render some service to the state. Every man who has tried to serve the public, as he looks back, will find something with regard to which, in the light of the wider knowledge which comes later, he will have to say: "I wish I had not done that; perhaps that was a mistake; it looked to be right at the moment, but in a later light it seems to be debatable."

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, if in the long course of my public life I ever did an act which I had faith in and believed in sincerely and believe in to-day, it was the signing of the reciprocity agreement with the United States. It has stood the test of time; it has stood the test of criticism, and the men who condemned it have paid us the high compliment of trying to do some of the very things for which they condemned us.

We were told that if the trade of this country were so changed that some portion of our wheat might go South instead of going East and West, the very rails of the Canadian Pacific Railway would go to rust. I am afraid that some of the Canadian Pacific Railway men, usually wise, able men, were in that particular instance foolish enough to believe that. And what do we find to-day? Free wheat, they said, would destroy the railway interests of Canada; yet they have themselves provided for free wheat. As this resolution sets forth, they have done the very things for which they condemned us, the very things their opposition to which enabled them to come into power.

They were reminded of this during the last session of the House by that very excellent protectionist, Mr. Cockshutt, of Brantford, a most respected citizen, honestly convinced that protection is the right thing. When they brought down the Budget at the last session, one or two of the members pleaded: "It is a good budget because it contains some of the things that were in the reciprocity agreement"—a queer thing to come from men who came into power by condemning the reciprocity agreement. Mr. Cockshutt told them squarely that they had received a mandate on the question of trade relations between Canada and the United States; that they had violated the mandate, and that they were now doing the very thing which they had come into power to prevent.

For eight years, the Americans allowed that agreement to stand on their statute books. We could not complain if they had repealed it in 1912. In 1911 they held out the hand of friendship, and when the people of Canada turned reciprocity down so unceremoniously, who would have blamed the Americans had they wiped the agreement off the statute book the next day? They might have said with justice: "Well, while for years we did not get along well with our Canadian neighbours, we did later make an effort to meet them; we held out the hand of fellowship to them; we gave them a good and generous agreement, but they flung it back in our faces." Who could have blamed the Americans if they had wiped it off the statute book the next day? But they did not; they had more sense and more consideration evidently than our Canadian Government had; they let it stand on the statute book for eight years. And now, a motion is before Congress, to repeal that agreement. It has not been passed; it may not pass; but if it passes to-morrow what right will we have to complain? They held it open to us for eight years, and our Government declined to take advantage of it. If now Congress repeals the Act, we shall have no reason to complain.

This, however, we want to say, as we do say in the terms of this resolution, that we hope and trust that the principles under which that agreement was framed—the principles of good fellowship between Canada and the United States, and of good trade relations between Canada and the United States; the principles which were calculated to improve the relations between Canada and the United States, and to help attain the larger and grander end of better relations between the Empire and the United States—we hope and trust that these principles will remain, that

even though the agreement be taken off the statute book of the United States to-day, there will come a time soon when the American Government and the Canadian Government will recognize the principles of that agreement, will again meet together and adopt once more an agreement which will carry out the great policy of better trade relations between the people of the United States and the people of the Dominion of Canada.

MR. N. T. MACMILLAN (Manitoba): Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed a great pleasure to me to have the opportunity of seconding this resolution, because in making this splendid agreement with the United States in 1911, the Liberal Government was carrying out one of the principles and one of the platforms of the great Liberal party.

We well remember, Mr. Chairman, the campaign that was carried on against the putting into effect of that agreement. We had in Manitoba, as you know, a gentleman by the name of Bob Rogers. This gentleman knew that the Liberal party—always true to the principles for which it stands—was determined to carry out the platform on which it was elected. He knew, therefore, that it meant the death of the Conservative party for a good many years if this agreement was adopted by the people. What then, did he do? He came down to Ottawa, and, true to old Tory principles to deceive, he conferred with other scheming Tories and said "There is a way, gentlemen, of defeating this agreement; we will do it behind the folds of the old flag." The campaign cry that this bargain meant annexation was then launched, and I can best illustrate to you that campaign by reciting to you a story that is told of a man who came West; it will give you an indication of the nature of the campaign and of the men who supported it.

There is a story that one of our Scotch farmers from Eastern Canada took a trip out to that great West of ours, and over that inimitable wheat field which stretches for 800 miles from Winnipeg to Edmonton and 400 miles the other way; it is one of our great wheat fields. He went over the great Rocky Mountains into the fertile valleys of British Columbia, he heard about the new empire in the Peace River country, the riches of which few of us know anything about. He came back East and in discussing his trip with one of his friends or a group of them, he was asked: "What do you think of that country?" "Why," he said, "that country is the greatest country in the world; out there every hill is a mountain, every stream is a river, and every man is a liar." Now, Mr. Chairman, that expresses the campaign that was put up in defeat of this agreement; every man who sought the defeat of that agreement by the annexation cry was a liar. They all got behind the folds of that old flag. It was no new game for them, nor was it the last time they did it. What did they do in 1917? They said: We will wrap the flag around us again. They called us all traitors again because we supported the statesman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), who never knew what it was to do a wrong thing, who stood for the unity of the great Dominion of Canada, as no other statesman in Canada ever did; who enunciated more progressive policies than were ever propounded by any other Canadian statesman.

So, in 1917, these people used the same methods that they employed in 1911; and let us be on our guard, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen; they will do it again. The Union Government under Sir Robert Borden is the same government as that which existed before the Union Government was formed. It is the same combination of schemers who will

exploit the patriotism of the great Canadian people in order to gain office. We were all called traitors in 1911 and 1917; we will be Bolshevists when the next election comes on, if you go to poll a vote or raise your voice in an effort to overthrow this iniquitous combination of buccaneers now governing the country. Men and women in this audience, notwithstanding the fact that you may have sons lying in Flanders fields, will be called Bolshevists if you raise your voices in an effort to re-establish in Canada representative government by and for the people, instead of order in council rule, if you demand clean and honest elections and the right of all naturalized citizens to the franchise.

This resolution has been so ably presented by the Hon. Mr. Fielding that it is hardly necessary for me to go into the matter. The rejection of the reciprocity agreement was a great detriment to the Canadian people. They were fooled in rejecting it; the farmers of the West were fooled; they are beginning to realize it to-day as they never realized it before. We have tremendous obligations to meet in this great country of ours, and there is only one way we can meet them—by greater production and by the development of our natural resources. Nothing that was ever projected by any government would have done more to develop the great resources of our western country than the carrying into effect of this splendid agreement. Had it been accepted in 1911 our population of these prairies would have been greater; men who had gone from Canada and sojourned temporarily in the United States and in other places would have come back and assisted in the development of the country. They left us because of the restrictions that were imposed upon them, the duties which they had to pay in obtaining agricultural implements and the restrictions in regard to markets for their products.

I have talked to many of them before and after the campaign of 1911. I know of men who had all arrangements made for the purchase of land in Canada and intended to settle here as soon as the agreement was ratified, but as soon as the agreement was defeated by the overthrow of the Liberal Government, these people went back to the United States and Canada lost them as future citizens and producers.

It gives me great pleasure to second this resolution affirming, as it does, one of the great principles for which Liberalism stands—freer trade. I am sure that we shall have an opportunity of carrying these principles into law at no very distant date.

The resolution was adopted.

Finances and Taxation

Hon. Mr. Stewart (Acting Chairman): The next resolution is one with regard to the financial condition of the country and taxation; it will be moved by Mr. Knowles of Saskatchewan, and seconded by Mr. J. E. Sinclair, M.P., Prince Edward Island.

Hon. W. E. Knowles (former member for Moosejaw in the Federal Parliament, now of the Saskatchewan Government): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will not detain you more than a very few minutes.

This resolution is a straight honest-to-God Liberal resolution; in it we join issue with the privileged classes and those who try to raise our revenues by the indirect method, and out of the poor people. I ask you to recall the birth of the government that to-day is a disgrace to Canada. When that government was born, about two years ago, it was born under

an environment that was the direct antithesis of the spirit of this resolution, which I am about to move. My friends who were then in the House of Commons will remember that we for weeks were looking for the birth of the new infant, called "Union Government." My friends will remember that every particular of its environment was the millionaire element. They will remember that during July we thought the child was going to be born; during August we thought the infant was going to be born; and we went away from the House of Commons thinking it was a false alarm and that no infant was going to be born. Then a little later, here in the Chateau Laurier, surrounded by millionaires, with all his uncles and aunts again looking for his arrival, this infant, called the Union Government baby, came to earth. We had Flavelle there; we had Sir William Mackenzie there, he had ten million (dollars) reasons for hanging around; but we didn't even have an honest-to-God doctor; we only had an old midwife, Sir Clifford Sifton, at the birth of that child. And no sooner was the child born than every true blue Tory swelled up his chest, proud that they had got a child of their own breed, a chip off the old block, the same as the Tory father in every respect—with the Tory eyes and brow and, above all, with Tory hands to grab with.

And then, what did we see the Liberals doing who were connected with the parentage of that child? We see men like Mr. Calder and Mr. Rowell—I am not going to say anything about Mr. Rowell.

SOME DELEGATES: Oh, oh. Yes, go on!

MR. KNOWLES: I love an out-and-out devil and I love an honest Christian, but I do not like Rowell.

But what do we find these men doing, the Liberal element in the fatherhood of this infant that was born? You find these Liberals going, as I saw them going, up and down Canada with their heads down, with words of apology on their lips, to explain how they came to be associated with the birth of this young child, which they were heartily ashamed of, because it was a Tory privilege and protectionist child, absolutely on all fours in every respect with its Tory fatherhood, and containing in it no element of Liberalism.

So I say that we ask that the revenues of Canada shall not continue to be raised as they are by indirect taxation, which is the millionaire's policy. In Canada we are paying per head $18.50 by way of taxation, while in the United States they pay only $2.11, one-ninth the amount we pay. So I say in this resolution we are making known to the people of Canada our position on this matter. We wish to raise the revenues out of the incomes of the people—and after all, that is the place where it should come from. Those who can afford to pay should pay, and the income tax must be collected; the present administration has deliberately made a monkey of it; they do not want the income tax to be successful, they want to be driven more firmly to the old protectionist system and kept there. We join issue with them on that matter; we nail our colours to the mast, and insist on raising the money without unduly bearing on the ordinary common people, as the present system of taxation does.

I, therefore, move the following resolution:—

> "WHEREAS, the national safety demands that the serious financial position of the country should be known and appreciated in order that steps may be taken to cope with the same, and

"WHEREAS, on the 31st March last, according to the statement of the Minister of Finance, the net public debt was $1,584,000,000, or, roughly, $220 for every man, woman and child in the Dominion, involving an annual interest charge of about $115,000,000, and thus imposing an annual burden for interest on debt alone of $15 per head of the population, and

"WHEREAS, the estimated expenditure of the Dominion Government for the present fiscal year is over $800,000,000, or, roughly, $100 per head of the population, and

"WHEREAS, the estimated revenue is only $280,000,000, thus creating an estimated deficit of over $500,000,000—a sum equivalent to $62.50 per head of the population—which sum the Finance Minister proposes to obtain by borrowing, and

"WHEREAS, national disaster will overtake this country should the present method of financing the country's affairs be continued, and

"WHEREAS, both Great Britain and the United States at present raise more than 80 per cent of their revenue by direct taxation while Canada raises not more than 20 per cent.

"BE, and it is hereby resolved:

"(1) That the serious nature of the country's financial situation calls for the profoundest consideration of all patriotic citizens, and the exercise of the severest economy by the Government;

"(2) That increase of revenue must be sought from an equitable and effective imposition and collection of graduated taxes, on business profits and income applicable to all incomes above reasonable exemptions;

(3) Taxes on luxuries."

MR. J. E. SINCLAIR, M.P. (Queen's P.E.I): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure for me, coming as a farmer from the East, to join hands with the Hon. Mr. Knowles, who is a leader of farmers from the West, in presenting to the Convention a resolution which embodies the principles of taxation as endorsed by the Resolutions Committee. I trust that the resolution, containing as it does the principle which has been taught us by that eminent statesman whose portrait is behind us (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), will be adopted by this Convention.

Now, it is an unpopular thing, ladies and gentlemen, to offer to the people of a country any system of taxation. We have laid down our principles on the question of customs taxation and the tariff, but, while stating those principles, we must keep in mind the fact that we have to raise a revenue. I say, sir, that the Union Government has failed to make proper provision for keeping up the revenues of this country commensurate with the expenditures which have been proposed. For that reason, I am pleased on this occasion to have the privilege of seconding this resolution—seconding it in spirit, as I have not had an opportunity of examining it in the literal sense, which embodies the principles of direct taxation as a means of raising more revenues to meet the large and ever increasing expenditure necessary to carry on our great Canadian nation.

The resolution was adopted.

HON. MR. MURPHY: Before we adjourn for luncheon, I am asked to request the delegates present, who attended the Convention of 1893, to meet at the door at the rear of the hall, about three o'clock, after they have received their books of ballots, to have a group photograph taken as a historic souvenir.

At 12.30 p.m. the Convention adjourned until 3.30 p.m.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention resumed at 3.30 p.m.

HON. MR. MURPHY: The delegates will please seat themselves in the centre of the hall, in the sections designated by the suspended signs. The alternate delegates should also be seated in the centre of the hall. The delegates will vote as they sit in their respective provincial locations. The Ontario delegation will sit to the left of the platform, the Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Alberta delegations will sit immediately in front of the platform, and the Quebec delegates will sit to the right. The chairman requests the several vice-chairmen to come and take seats on the platform while the voting is in progress. Can the delegates from Alberta hear me?

Cries of "No."

HON. MR. MURPHY: Thank you; they do not hear me. (Laughter.) I am about to read the list of the scrutineers whom you selected on the first day of the Convention to take charge of the ballot boxes and collect the ballots as soon as the voting is announced. The ballot boxes are in the left, front, corner of the hall and will be delivered to the scrutineers by the men in charge, under the direction of Mr. Andrew Haydon, who has gone down there so as to improve the acoustics for the benefit of the delegation from Alberta and those at the far end of the hall. I will now read the list of scrutineers and these gentlemen, as their names are read, will please proceed to the upper left hand corner of the hall and get their ballot boxes. Upon getting their ballot boxes they will return to the locations of the respective provinces to which they belong and they will there stand until the delegates have signed the ballots and when they have deposited them in the ballot box, and the voting is thus completed, they will retire with the ballot boxes to the Ontario Committee Room, where the count will take place. The scrutineers elected on the first day of the Convention are as follows:

ALBERTA—Milton Martin; C. Gordon; Dr. T. A. Wright.
BRITISH COLUMBIA—W. M. Ivel; R. Smillie; J. F. J. Cashion.
MANITOBA—G. G. Serkan; A. E. Hill; W. H. Truman.
NEW BRUNSWICK—A. T. LeBlanc, M.P.P.; Dr. A. F. Emery.
NOVA SCOTIA—Capt. Gerald McElheney; T. F. Burke.
ONTARIO—A. Little; H. H. Horsey; W. E. N. Sinclair; H. D. Ramsden; G. J McGaughey; Percy Roberts.
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—E. T. Higgs; B. W. Tanton.
QUEBEC—J. A. St. Cyr; Dr. H. Deslauriers, M.P.; Arthur L. Desaulniers, M.P.; C. A. Fournier, M.P.; Dr. Theo. Gervais, M.P.; Dr. J. E. Fontaine, M.P.
SASKATCHEWAN—Grave, McGee, Hindle.
YUKON—R. C. Millar.

WELCOME TO LADY LAURIER

At this juncture Lady Laurier, accompanied by friends, appeared in the gallery of the hall and was accorded an enthusiastic welcome. The vast audience testified its respect and admiration by rising and cheering. The demonstration was continued for several minutes.

HON. MR. MURPHY: Will the scrutineers with the ballot boxes range themselves in the two aisles along side of their respective provinces, and will they spread out so that approximately they will have fifty or sixty ballots deposited in each box? May I translate your applause of a few minutes ago in a few words and say to the noble consort of our late beloved Chief that she is welcome.

The assemblage signified its approval by a tremendous outburst of applause.

HON. MR. MURPHY: Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, if the ballot boxes have been distributed and the scrutineers are in their places, the Chairman will read out the list of names of those who have been nominated for the position of Leader of the Liberal party. That having been done, a slight intermission will take place to give any gentleman who desires to do so an opportunity to withdraw. If none withdraw the names will be again announced from among which you are to make a selection, and when you vote remember that you vote for only one candidate and that you write on your ballot the name of only one candidate.

HON. MR. MURRAY: I am going to announce the names of the gentlemen who have been placed in nomination:

"OTTAWA, *August 7, 1919.*

"We hereby nominate Mr. Alexander Smith, of Ottawa, to be Leader of the Liberal Party in Canada.

(*Signed*) J. B. MCCOLL,
Cobourg, Ont.
" JOHN MACAULAY,
North Bruce, Wiarton, Ont."

"We, delegates to the National Liberal Convention, submit the name of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, and nominate him for the leadership of the Liberal party of Canada.

(*Signed*) A. B. AYLESWORTH,
" SYDNEY FISHER."

"*August 7, 1919.*

"Mr. Andrew Haydon,
General Secretary,
Liberal Convention.

"Sir:—We hereby nominate D. D. McKenzie for leadership of the Liberal party.

(*Signed*) JAMES A. ROBB,
" FRANK OLIVER,
" N. T. MACMILLAN,
" J. H. SINCLAIR."

"*August 6, 1919.*

"Hon. George P. Graham.

Proposed by W. W. B. MCINNES, Vancouver Centre, British Columbia.

Seconded by CHARLES J. MONTREUIL, Essex North, Ontario.

"We hereby nominate the Hon. William Stevens Fielding, member of Parliament for Shelbourne and Queens, Nova Scotia, as candidate for the leadership of the Liberal party of Canada.

(*Signed*) W. M. MARTIN,
Prime Minister of Saskatchewan.
" W. E. FOSTER,
Prime Minister of New Brunswick."

The nominations number five, and they are all the names which have been placed before me.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: It has been suggested that the attention of the delegates ought to be drawn to the fact that under the rules, while the ballots are collected for convenience and speed by provinces, it is not the intention that these ballots will be counted by provinces or that the result will be announced by provinces. Under the rules that will not be done. There will only be one result and that will be the result of the total vote of this National Convention. I was asked to make that clear before the ballots were deposited and counted. If the Chairmen have no objection, the balloting may proceed.

Mr. Alexander Smith: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I consider my nomination complimentary and I beg leave to retire.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Mr. Alexander Smith desires to intimate in these words that he retires.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Mr. Andrew Haydon requests that the Chairman for each province will, after the voting for that province takes place, hand back to him any unused or uncalled for books of ballots. There may have been an excess number handed out by reason of some delegates not turning up or for some other uncertain reason and if in any case there be a surplus of books of ballots in any of the provinces, the Chairmen of the different provinces will please hand such surplus books to Mr. Andrew Haydon, who is here on the platform. The scrutineers with the ballot boxes will take them into the Ontario Committee Room after they have collected their compliment of votes. The tellers who were appointed on the first day of the Convention will retire to the Ontario room as soon as they have voted, in order that they may count the ballots under the direction of Mr. Andrew Haydon, who will be there with the necessary tally sheets and assistants for that purpose. The tellers elected by the Convention are as follows:

Alberta—C. H. Grant, F. S. Selwood, Thomas McKercher, Thomas Bell, Angus McDonald.
British Columbia—E. S. Knowlton, P. Donnelly, W. B. Farris, C. B. Patterson, Geo. Powell.
Manitoba—H. S. Patterson, J. H. Gunn, A. M. Bannerman, S. K. Colquhoun, J. L. Cowie.
New Brunswick—J. G. Robichaud, M.P.P.; A. G. Harmer, D. W. Mesereau, M.P.P.; D. Sullivan, F. M. Thompson.
Nova Scotia—Col. Allison Borden, Col. Ralston, John Hood, R. H. Mackay, Dr. Whitman.
Ontario—R. L. Brackin, A. J. Young, Col. McKee, E. R. Dewart, E. Proulx.
Prince Edward Island—F. L. Rogers, A. C. Saunders, J. J. Johnston, J. F. McNeil, J. J. McNally.
Quebec—E. d'Anjou, M.P.; J. F. Fafard, M.P.; Gustave Boyer, M.P.; P. T Casgrain, M.P.; J. E. Prevost, M.P.
Saskatchewan—Houser, Atkinson, McManus, McEwer, Palmer.
Yukon—J. A. Campbell.

The balloting for the leadership was then proceeded with.

Electoral Corruption

Hon. Mr. Murray: Mr. Preston is going to introduce a resolution while the votes are being counted.

Mr. W. T. R. Preston: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution I propose introducing is moved by myself and seconded by the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux. It is as follows:

> "That the resolution recommended by the Resolutions Committee *re* Election Frauds be the first order of business when the scrutineers first retire to count the ballots cast upon the vote for the leadership."

The object was to bring forward the resolution adopted by the Resolutions Committee yesterday on election frauds.

The resolution was adopted.

MR. PRESTON: Mr. Chairman, Sir Lomer Gouin, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution that I propose moving now, seconded by Mr. J. E. Adamson, of Winnipeg, is as follows:

> "WHEREAS IT HAS BEEN OPENLY CHARGED that there was a conspiracy to carry out an elaborate system of frauds in connection with the Military Voters' part of the War Times Election Act, for the purpose of overcoming the voice of the honest electorate of the Dominion, involving the voting of unqualified persons, double voting, personation, ballot stuffing and the illegal switching or transferring of tens of thousands of votes to constituencies other than those in which the military electors were known to be entitled to vote;
>
> "AND WHEREAS it has been openly charged that these frauds would have been impossible without large numbers of the appointees of the Crown deliberately co-operating and committing perjury;
>
> "AND WHEREAS it has been openly charged that these colossal frauds were perpetrated under the direction and connivance of Cabinet Ministers, military officers and civilian officials holding influential and responsible positions;
>
> "AND WHEREAS it has been alleged that persons were officially known to be immediately implicated in the direction and control of these frauds, and were subsequently recommended by the Prime Minister for Imperial honors at the hands of His Majesty the King;
>
> "THEREFORE this Convention hereby demands the appointment of an impartial Royal Commission with unlimited power and authority to institute a full and exhaustive enquiry into the conduct of every phase of the illegal and other fraudulent practices in connection with the elections held under the aforesaid Military Voters Act, and this Convention also demands the punishment of every person, military or civilian, who may be proved to have been implicated in the before mentioned election frauds."

I stand here at this moment, having been the representative of the Liberal party overseas during the recent general election, well understanding the responsibility of the position I occupy, not only before you, but before the law, and I deliberately formulate the charge that there was a conspiracy of high, important and influential persons to so manipulate the military vote at this election that the honest voice of the electorate of this country should not be heard. I have enumerated some of the particulars of fraud in the resolution which I am submitting to you. It would take too long and occupy too much of the time at your disposal, were I to particularise all of the various offences of which we hold unquestionable proof, but I will say without fear of contradiction that there was no offence that could possibly be committed of any nature or kind of election fraud, necessitating ballot stuffing, personation, perjury and the widespread coercion of military electors voting in constituencies other than where they were entitled to vote, that was not committed in the election. I can see in this audience representatives from at least twenty-five counties in this Dominion who would be sitting in the House of Commons but for these unprecedented colossal election frauds. I claim that this question, if it be not the most, is certainly not the least important, that will be brought before the Convention. I am here not

simply in a personal capacity, having at Sir Wilfrid Laurier's personal request spent all my time for the last eighteen or twenty months, endeavouring to collect evidence for the purpose of bringing the crime home to principal and responsible conspirators. While sitting in an inner dark cell of the military prison at Witley, where for an afternoon I was placed under arrest because I protested against Lt.-Col. Malone filling his ballot box with fraudulent ballots, and which charge by the way, was fully established when the ballot box was subsequently opened by the scrutineers, I resolved that every day of my life and all my strength should be consecrated to exposing these frauds in the interest of the civil liberty of the people of this country, and in vindication of the necessity of honesty in the conduct of elections. I have been during these months gathering up the threads of this damnable conspiracy in Europe and throughout the Dominion and I have no hesitation whatever in saying upon this platform, before this vast and representative audience, as I have said from other platforms in Ontario, that this electoral outrage was hatched in Ottawa, that Sir Robert Borden is the chief of these conspirators, and that Sir George Perley, High Commissioner for Canada, Hector MacInnes, K.C., of Halifax, the Hon. Dr. Reid, Minister of Railways, the Hon. N. W. Rowell, President of the Privy Council, and the Hon. Arthur Meighen, Minister of the Interior, are each *particeps criminis*—all associates in this terrible crime. I declare without fear of contradiction that the frauds which consigned Boss Tweed to prison for ten years in New York a few years ago were as an afternoon tea-party in comparison with the bacchanalian orgy of corruption which these highly placed conspirators indulged in at the late election. The Liberal party owes much to those soldiers overseas who desired to vote with the liberty for which they were fighting, but who were either coerced into voting for the Government, or punished in various ways by military autocrats for not doing so. Their claim that this Convention shall assume the responsibility of exposing these frauds, and shall bring all those responsible to account cannot possibly be regarded with indifference.

Soldiers were sent into the trenches because they affirmed their right to vote for the Liberal party. Immediately after the elections, Lt.-Col. Frank Reid, the Government representative in France, boasted that ten or twelve men in the front who refused to vote for the Government were herded together and sent out to "No Man's Land" on a forlorn mission, and that not one of them was ever seen again. I make the statement also on the assurance of three witnesses that a responsible officer in Argyll House stated that he had charge of the work of sending soldiers who voted for the Liberal party into the fighting line, and he took good care that none escaped. Soldiers have told me that they were not only threatened with the trenches for expressing opposition to the Government or for suggesting an inclination to vote for the Liberal party, but unmentionable indignities were heaped upon them by brutal superior officers.

These are awful crimes. They are not ordinary crimes. Will you tell me that if any one could stand on a public platform in the province of Quebec and say that Sir Lomer Gouin, or any one of his followers in the Legislative Assembly had been elected by means of this kind, that he as Provincial Premier would be silent, or the assembly would be silent or that the voice of the province of Quebec would not be heard ? And I am just as certain that the honest voice of this Dominion is not going to be silent in the face of these colossal exposures.

There (pointing to the picture of Sir Wilfrid Laurier) hangs the picture of the statesman who had the honest vote of this country in the general election of 1917 and who, judging by the far-reaching extent of the electoral iniquities and frauds of which we have proof, ought to have been the Prime Minister of this country again before he died. I can imagine no greater crime being committed in the history of government than these conspirators have perpetrated, and I want to make these charges openly and publicly in the city of Ottawa, if you will within the shadow of the Parliament Buildings, and in the hope that the sound of my voice may be heard at Government House. Are the Liberals in this Convention going to submit to this infringement upon our liberties? Are the people of Canada going to submit to it and thus make responsible government a screaming farce? I do not think they are. If they might even be remotely inclined to do so, then, I say, this country is gone beyond the possibility of salvation. Our only hope is in a standard of government as high as prevails in England. If those painted lips (pointing to the picture of Sir Wilfrid Laurier) could speak to us to-day, what would they say? Would they not declare as they always did in life for the sanctity of the ballot box and for the preservation of national honour, no matter at what cost. The Borden Cabinet, however, have trampled the national honour under their feet as an unholy thing and they snap their fingers at the nation's appeal for the sanctity of the ballot box. There can be no hope for any country where public interest and national honour are at stake, if they are at the will of some political criminal more powerful than the law. There can be no safety in any country where law-breaking is not certain of punishment, and the law of elections is no exception to this rule. Until this principle has been vindicated, this country is at the mercy of any political leader whose only object is his own political salvation and the aggrandisement of his friends at the public expense. I ask the men and women in this Convention, in the name of good government and the national honour, to demand that there shall be the fullest investigation of these charges. And I have no hesitation in assuring you that every statement I have made here and elsewhere on this question is capable of proof by sworn evidence which can stand the test of the most severe cross-examination.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier was aware of all these facts, bar the one of a most significant character which will be referred to in a moment by Mr. Adamson. Sir Wilfrid Laurier frequently stated that no greater crime had ever been committed in the history of government within the Empire than this conspiracy of fraud in December, 1917. It was at his earnest solicitation and in constant consultation with him until ten days before his death that I endeavoured to gather together the evidence which is the basis of this terrible indictment.

I ask you in the name of Liberalism, in the interest of national honour, in the cause of right and of freedom, of the sanctity of the ballot, and of the undying principle that a free people shall be able to vote any way they desire without fear or favour either from military or civilians; I ask you in the cause of responsible government, in the name of all that the democracy of the world has fought for since the barons wrested the Magna Charta from King John at Runnymede, not to allow these great principles, the only hope of our nation, to be trampled into the dust by any political party, or aggregation of political parties; but to demand that this Dominion shall carry on an enquiry into these atrocious election

frauds, and that the enquiry shall be continued until all these crimes are fully exposed and until the conspirators are brought to justice.

Mr. J. E. Adamson (Winnipeg): Mr. Chairman, Sir Lomer Gouin, Ladies and Gentlemen. The first real fight of Liberalism, the fight indeed which brought Liberalism into existence, was the fight for the franchise and for the ballot—the fight for the right of the plain people to elect their own representatives and for constitutional government as we have had it in Canada. The franchise and the ballot are the very corner stone of our free institutions in this country; that requires no argument. Electoral corruption hits at the very foundation of our free institutions and the right of the people to govern themselves. Accordingly, the people of this country can have no confidence in any government which steals its way into office.

I make the charge that the Borden Government stole its way into office and I propose to show very briefly how that was done. In the first place, when the Conscription Act was placed upon the statute books of this country, we were told that it was above politics, that there were no politics in it, and that it would not be used for political advantage in any shape or form: That pledge was not carried out. We know that dozens of constituencies throughout this country were won by promises as to what would be and as to what would not be done under the Conscription Act. I have in my hands the evidence of a specific instance of that. Mr. A. E. Blount was Sir Robert Borden's private secretary—his confidential man. He is now Clerk of the Senate at a salary of $6,000 a year. On the 5th day of December, 1917, Senator W. H. Sharpe of Manitoba telegraphed to Mr. Blount, who was then in Ottawa, in the following words:

"Winnipeg, Man., *Dec. 5, 1917.*

"Mr. A. E. Blount,
Ottawa, Ont.

"There has been a big row created here by E. H. Hutchins in reference to his son being conscripted. He offered to subscribe five hundred thousand dollars to Victory Loan provided his son was not conscripted. His son has been conscripted. He is now appealing to Judge Duff at Ottawa. You must see that no decision is made on this before election. We want to keep him in doubt until after election and then his conscription should be upheld or it will cause a small rebellion here. Please see proper people and have this matter arranged."

W. H. Sharpe.

"Charge Union Govt. Committee."

Here is a clear case of this party prostituting the Conscription Act for their own personal and political ends. Was that what the people of this country wanted? But, that is just one instance.

Another thing which they did was to disfranchise a large number of our loyal citizens, women and others who are of foreign extraction or descent. In the province of Manitoba, out of a population of 466,000 there are 190,000 of non-British origin and the great problem before the public men of this country, and of Manitoba particularly, is to make of these people good citizens, to give them faith in our institutions and confidence in our Government. They were brought to this country by the Government upon invitation and at great expense. They were naturalized and in their naturalization papers they were promised that they would have "all the rights and privileges" of citizenship. These

rights were taken away by this Government. These naturalization papers were made "scraps of paper" much the same as the Kaiser made a scrap of paper of the treaty in regard to Belgium. This Government has been guilty of breach of faith that will stand forever as a disgrace to this country and will add to the difficulty of dealing with this great problem. Most of these people love this country and have come here to establish homes for themselves, their families and future generations.

You know the election machinery which they introduced. You know so much about it that I will not deal with it. But, there is one thing which requires special mention and that is the manipulation and switching of the soldier's vote. It was bad enough to switch and manipulate the votes of those of us who were here; we could, in a degree, protect ourselves. But when the men at the front had their backs turned, this Government took their votes and manipulated them for their own advantage and personal ends after misrepresenting the whole situation to them.

I make the charge here and I make this charge realizing the responsibility of doing so—I am not making it hastily without knowing the seriousness of the words I utter—I do not make it without having the proof to back up the charge I make—that the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden and his colleague, Hon. Arthur Meighen, conspired to, were personally active in, and have been guilty of complicity in the most glaring electoral corruption, fraud and ballot switching which ever took place in Canada. I state that, fully knowing the meaning of my words and the seriousness of the charge which I make.

I have in my hand a telegram. I have the original code, I have the key to the code and I have the interpretation. In 1873 the "Pacific Scandal" drove Sir John A. Macdonald out of power and that was disclosed by a telegram asking for $10,000. But, Sir John Macdonald's offence pales into insignificance compared with the seriousness of what I am about to disclose to you. In the first place, as I have said, I have the code here. I will not read that to you. I will read a telegram which is dated at Winnipeg the 30th November, 1917, which was 17 days before voting day. It is addressed to Sir Robert Borden, Ottawa, and it is signed by Arthur Meighen. It was charged to the "Union Government Committee," and interpreted it reads as follows:

November 30, 1917.

Robt. L. Borden,
Ottawa, Ont.

"Would like one thousand soldier votes at large for Manitoba, of which 300 for Selkirk, balance divided between Provencher, Macdonald, and Springfield, or same proportion of division no matter what our allotment may be."

ARTHUR MEIGHEN.

"Charge Union Govt. Committee."

I have another telegram dated Winnipeg four days later. It is dated the 4th December, 1917, and is addressed to Senator Tanner, Halifax, N.S. The telegram is from Senator W. H. Sharpe and it reads as follows:

"WINNIPEG, MAN., *Dec. 4th, 1917.*

Senator Tanner,
Halifax, N.S.

"W. J. Tupper received a telegram from your assistant secretary and in reply would say please allot all unattached votes equally among the following constituencies: Provencher, Springfield, and Selkirk, for the province of Manitoba, and in Saskatchewan, Saltcoats, North Battleford, Prince Albert, Swift Current and Humboldt. This will assist us greatly."

W. H. SHARPE.

"Charge Union Govt. Committee."

Was there ever a more damnable political crime committed in this country? If this does not shock and inflame any conscience that is left in the Canadian people I do not know what will. Ladies and Gentlemen, when we think of our late beloved Chief, when we think of his purity of heart, his noble character, the greatness of his soul, his splendid integrity, and then when we think that the Canadian people preferred men who were guilty of these things to our Old Chief, it is enough to "make the angels weep."

Just imagine what would happen in England if complicity of this kind were brought home to Lloyd George as we bring it home to these gentlemen. He could not remain in office for twenty-four hours; he would be driven from office by the right thinking people there who understand British Government and British institutions.

The people of every country demand that their grievances shall be redressed and there must be a means of redress. The great difference between British Liberalism, as we understand it, and continental Liberalism is that in Great Britain and in Canada we have had a constitutional means of redress for our wrongs; on the continent, in days gone by, in France and now in Russia and Germany, they have had no constitutional means of redress. The result has been that the political revolutions that have taken place in England have been bloodless, while those that have taken place in Russia and other parts have been accompanied by bloodshed. Bolshevism has arisen where there are no constitutional means of redress. If you take away constitutional means of redress people will resort to unconstitutional means. If you wish Bolshevism to flourish in Canada, permit this kind of thing to go on. That is why I say that Union Government is leading the country to Bolshevism.

I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was adopted.

SOLDIERS' CIVIL RE-ESTABLISHMENT

HON. MR. MURRAY: A resolution is to be moved by Lieut.-Col. Ralston, seconded by Hon. Dr. Beland, with regard to Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment.

HON. MR. MURPHY: Ladies and Gentlemen, Colonel Ralston is one of the most distinguished soldiers in Canada. He was not a delegate to this Convention, but such is his interest in progressive Liberalism that he came here at his own expense, helped the committees in advance of the Convention, and is now assisting in solving the problem of the returned soldier.

A DELEGATE: Where is he from?

HON. MR. MURPHY: He is from Nova Scotia, which has produced many good men.

Lt.-Col. J. Layton Ralston, C.M.G., D.S.O.: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the subject which I have to discuss this afternoon is not a subject, perhaps, which should be discussed at the tail end of the Convention, when everybody is hot and tired—I, no doubt, look a bit hot and tired myself. For the last week we have been endeavoring to reach some conclusions upon this subject. We have reached the conclusions as set forth in the resolution which I shall move, and it is for me to present them to you, and for you to decide whether or not you will concur in them.

I want everybody to understand that I am not here as an advocate of any resolution. What I am here for is to endeavor to place before you the considerations which the committee have had in view, and then it is for you to decide.

The resolution is as follows:

"1. Whereas, it is considered that the guiding principles for a permanent settlement of the problem of civil re-establishment should be equitable treatment to soldiers in all avocations, having regard to the length and nature of service,

"Resolved that this Convention declares that the adoption of a system of cash grants to the soldiers and the dependants of those who have fallen is the most satisfactory and effective means of civil re-establishment—such grants to be in addition to the present gratuity and to any pension for disability resulting from service.

"Further resolved that this Convention further considers:

"2. That the whole matter of the education of the returned soldier be placed in the hands of competent educational authorities to provide for the co-ordination, improvement, and extension of a system of educational training, both vocational and general.

"3. Insurance. That provision should be made whereby any increased cost of insurance in favor of the dependants of the soldier should be borne by the state where such increase arises from disability incurred during the war.

"4. Pensions.

"(*a*) That such pensions or allowances be granted as shall enable soldiers or their dependants, as the case may be, to maintain a liberal standard of living sufficient to guarantee health, education, and all the necessities, comforts and amenities which go to make up a standard of living worthy of Canadian citizenship.

"(*b*) That soldiers permanently partially disabled should be trained for some useful occupation selected by themselves, and for which they are fitted or can be fitted, for such length of time as shall render them efficient in same, and after being so trained should be assisted by the Government in obtaining employment at a rate of remuneration adequate to the services rendered in such employment.

"(*c*) That from the moment of discharge and until said training is completed and such employment found, the soldiers permanently partially disabled as aforesaid and their dependants should receive pensions or allowances amply sufficient to enable them to maintain the liberal standard of living as aforesaid, and when employment has been found for said soldiers upon the completion of their training, if the remuneration received in such employment is not sufficient to maintain such standard of living, the Government should provide the deficiency.

"(*d*) That soldiers who have returned or shall hereafter return partially or totally temporarily disabled, and their dependants, should receive, during the period of such disability, pensions or allowances amply sufficient to enable them to maintain a liberal standard of living as aforesaid.

"5. MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

"THAT steps should be taken to secure uniformity in medical decisions as to disabilities by establishing permanent travelling medical appeal boards.

"6. THAT more effective employment agencies should be created and the divergent efforts of the various organizations now in existence should be co-ordinated in a central authority.

"7. THAT reference to soldiers in this resolution is intended to include as well sailors, aviators, and nurses whenever applicable, and Canadian soldiers serving with any of the Imperial or Allied armies so far as the benefits hereunder have not been provided for by the Imperial or Allied Governments."

I feel very backward and very reticent as a returned soldier, in presenting a resolution of this kind, which, on the face of it, appears to grant some special consideration to the returned soldier. But I feel that, in view of the sympathy which has been expressed in the Committee, you will hear me, and you will remember the position which I take and will endeavor to follow the trend of thought which this Committee has followed in the days that have passed.

The question is this: how can we best put the returned soldier back into civil life and prejudice him the least, on account of the three or four years that he has lost on account of his having been away at the war, while others have been at home? In the solution of that problem a good many hours and a good many days have been spent, and perhaps you may not think it has been solved even now.

We feel that in the best interests of Canada, as in the best interests of the returned soldier, it is necessary that the returned soldier be re-established into civil life, in regard to employment, in regard to training, in regard to the possibility of living comfortably and decently, as nearly as possible as if he had not gone to war. Certain gratuities, so-called, have been granted, but the present Government have given evidence that they do not consider those gratuities to be altogether sufficient. They have made provision that men who are willing to go upon the land shall receive special assistance by way of loans at reduced rates of interest, and for long terms. The question in this country at the present time, not only from the returned soldier but from the sober-minded civilian as well, is this: whether or not it is altogether fair to give special consideration to one class, or to one faction, in the community. That is the serious consideration which we have to face to-day. For a further instance of recognition of the returned soldier we have to remember that, at the end of the South African War, every returned veteran was given a free grant of land. I think the average amount for which these grants were sold was $350 or $400. A great many of these men were made the subject of improper devices by land speculators, and did not get the full value of their land.

To-day the problem is: what can we best do for the soldier in order to get him back into civil life? If the assistance which has been given is not sufficient; if the gratuity is not enough, what further should be done? If the man who goes on the land is to be assisted, what about the artisan;

what about the man who is going to college; what about the man who had a little business before he went away or who desires to start one after he comes back; what about all these other occupations? These are men who can fairly say: we want some sort of assistance, for we have a bona fide business or other occupation in which we want to make an investment.

Your Committee sat for three days, and they considered this question very carefully. They almost came to the conclusion that the only way in which the great Liberal party could inaugurate a policy which could be fair to all classes would be to provide that a man in any business or occupation, which he could show to a competent board was a sound commercial project, should receive assistance to the extent of a limited amount, just the same as the farmer.

You will see in a moment the difficulty which presents itself in connection with working that out. We felt, further, that the course which had been followed in England should be adopted here; that a man who had begun a university education should be further fitted, should be given further training at the expense of the state. That system is also in vogue in Australia at the present time, and, they say, is working well.

We felt also that the Government should be responsible, to a certain extent, for providing employment for men who come back, even though they be able-bodied men. These were some of the alternatives we had before us, and on which some of us had very strong opinions.

But this was the difficulty: if you start making any more departments; if you provide more inspectors, more boards, more appraisers, more supervisors, more people for the returned soldier to meet, more offices all over the country where the returned soldier will have to go to see about his loans, or his grant of money, or whatever it may be, you increase the expense; you make the regulations difficult to administer. Moreover, it is absolutely impossible to get two boards in two different provinces who will decide that a project is sound commercially, on the same basis in one province as it is in another; therefore, there would be constant dissatisfaction among the returned men on account of the decision of these boards. The greatest difficulty would be experienced in providing departmental organization and suitable administration for that purpose.

And so, an alternative came up; and it is the alternative which has been facing this country for some time, in one way or another. The matter has been a good deal more acute in the West than it has been in the East. But the simple proposition was: why not let the returned soldier repatriate himself? Why not give him reasonable assistance along the lines of the South African grant, put the money in his hand and let him start to work. That was the proposal that came before the committee last, and that is the principle upon which you are asked to vote this afternoon.

Now, these are the arguments—and I want you to think of them as you are voting, because I may say that I came here as strong an advocate of the idea of assisting the soldier by providing him with employment and by helping him in his training, and by making him loans in his business, as anybody else. But I am bound to say that I am not as strong in that opinion to-day; I believe that the right principle is that which is embodied in the resolution which I have read.

These are the reasons. First, a matter of administration. All you have to do, in giving a returned soldier a cash grant, is to issue a cheque

to him, and the thing is done. You do not have to have a board; you do not have to have appraisers for him to go to; you have no overhead administration at all. At the present time, in the department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, there are 585 clerks in that little building in Ottawa, and throughout the country there are offices, and staffs, and the overhead expense of keeping up these offices must be tremendous. All that is done away with if you adopt the principle that the best way to re-establish the soldier is to give him a cash grant.

The second reason is this: The soldier, after all, feels that he ought to be treated at least as an ordinary citizen; that he should not have to have his private business pried into in order that the authorities may find out whether or not he is making a fool of himself in some investment or other; that he should not be subjected to all sorts of boards and appraisers who advise him how to run his little business. Most of them, I think, if they got a little bit of money, could be trusted to go and invest it at least as wisely as some of the men who at the present time are saying that they should not have it except by way of loans. I submit that it is irksome—not only irksome, it is unfair; not only unfair, it takes too long; it is too cumbersome—to work out a system whereby the returned soldier will speedily get back into civil life if we are going to establish all these boards and restrictions and limitations in connection with advances or assistance.

Another point is this: Suppose you do assist the returned soldier by way of an advance; what is going to happen if he does not make good? Is the country going to make him pay? Perhaps they are, and perhaps they are not. If advances are made by way of loans, it is quite possible that at the end of five years this country will have a lot of business wrecks on their hands, and they will either have to forgive the debt or incur the ignominy of forcing the returned soldier out of his home or out of his business and taking his property.

So it seems to me that these are the considerations which should appeal to us when we come to decide which way we should go about assisting the returned soldier.

Now, as to the cost. The resolution does not state the amount of the cash grant, because no man here to-day can say what the amount is that can be paid to the returned soldier. So far as I can find out, the returned soldier is not unreasonable; he realizes the obligations which are upon this country, and when he hears people proposing to lend him money for all sorts of things—for things which are not good business—he begins to think that perhaps the country has a lot more money stowed away somewhere, and he might as well have some of it one way as another. I say that the returned soldier is not unreasonable; and it is a matter for this country to decide, after we have decided upon the principle, how much this assistance should be.

I do not suppose there is anybody in this audience who understands or knows to a certainty what are the financial obligations of this country at the present time, or who could presume to know how much or how little the country could afford to pay to three or four hundred thousand men scattered all over the country. That is a matter which will have to be considered later. What we do want you to vote on is whether or not the re-establishment of the returned soldier shall be effected by cash grants or whether it shall be by the old method of advances by way of loans.

Now, what are the arguments against it? Some say that we do not want to pay the soldier for patriotism—and God knows that the soldier does not want you to pay him for patriotism. All the soldier asks is this: "I want to be put back in a position equivalent, or as nearly so as possible, to that in which I would have been if I had not left this country. I see Tom, Dick and Harry running business enterprises, making good money, owning their own property perhaps, ready to go on with their life work, but I am three years behind."

The other argument is that the adoption of such a proposal as this would not be good for the soldier. Now, I want to tell you this—and it is not a trite argument; it is absolutely sound—these men had ability, and initiative, and resource, in sufficient degree to cause them to go over to France and Belgium, and to handle the situation over there—and to handle it in such a way that our country is our own to-day. Do you not think, therefore, that they can be trusted to take care of any little bit of property that they have. No doubt some of them will misspend the money, but plenty of money is being misspent in this country at the present time by other people than returned soldiers, and some of it is being misspent which could properly be diverted to that very channel. There is not so much argument, therefore, in the suggestion that perhaps three, four, five, or ten per cent of the soldiers would not make the wisest use of their money.

Do you know what the soldier wants? He does not want quite so many tags tied to him; he does not want a string put on him here or there about everything which is done for him. What he wants is sympathy and advice along business lines; he is as willing to take advice from business men who are his friends, provided he does not have it crammed down his throat. If this money is distributed under proper regulation, and the men given to understand how they may best invest it, I feel sure that you will find very little misspending of this money. Moreover, the money would be spent in this country. Four hundred thousand is at least one quarter in number of the tax-payers of Canada, and the returned soldier is going to help to pay the money back; he is going to spend his money in this country.

The things which the returned soldier would like to do with this money are these—and these instances have come before the Committee. He may want to build a house. He can build a house at the present time, provided he borrows money from the town—that is to say, if the town council want to give their bonds to the province and the province want to give their bonds to the Dominion, as long a way around as you can possibly get. Would it not be much better to give him the money direct and let him invest it in the house?

He wants to start a business. He has a little money on hand; he has the money to do it with, if he gets this help. He wants to finish a university education. He wants to put away a little nest-egg—and, perhaps some fellow may want to blow it in. Well, let him blow it in, for all the small percentage that the aggregate would amount to. That, then, is the issue; that is the thing upon which you have to decide; that is the most important matter of principle in the resolution, which is submitted for your consideration.

You will see that by the adoption of this resolution you do away with assistance with regard to the vocational training of men who are physically fit, because they get their cash grant. You do away with assistance in the way of university education, because the man has the money to go

on with. You do away with the assistance to the business man, because he has his money; and you do away with assistance to the man who wants to build a house, because he has the cash on hand to do it with.

The other matters dealt with in the resolution are these. No man is more vitally interested than the returned soldier in the subject of education. He realizes that education is an asset in the national life of this country; that the better trained men we have the more the demand will be for those men; the more skilled our labour is and the more intellectual and trained our citizens are, the better our Canadians will be and the stronger will be the national life of Canada. The returned soldier has as much interest as anybody in the improvement of that national life. We believe that the best use is not being made at the present time of the educational facilities which are available in this country. The universities are empty and closed for three or four months in the summer; these could be used for summer courses in insurance, banking, bookkeeping, vocational and manual training. The technical colleges could include in their courses a system of apprenticeship, something which is desired, not only by returned soldiers, but by other labouring men as well.

This resolution lays down the general principles that competent educational authorities should take up the question of the education, vocational or otherwise, of the returned soldiers, and of the dependants of those who have fallen. That is as far as the resolution goes, and that is sufficient, if it is done in the proper spirit, by competent authorities, to accomplish the object desired.

I may say that the university presidents met here in Ottawa in the early part of this year, and made recommendations to the present Government along the lines that I have mentioned, but no response whatever has been received—that is to say, no encouraging response of any kind. At the present time no assistance is being given to returned men who want to finish their high school or university courses, unless they happen to be disabled, or unless they are men who enlisted as minors. In England, as I pointed out some time ago, they are training Canadian soldiers who enlisted with the Imperial army, came back to Canada, were demobilized, and are now back in England receiving a training at the expense of the English tax-payers—because they know what education means. In Australia the same thing is being done, and I believe that Canada should do the same thing.

There is a provision in the resolution whereby a disabled man is put upon the same footing as he was before, with regard to the obtaining of insurance. In other words, the state pays the difference in the cost of insurance, because of any disablement which he may have suffered at the war.

There is a further provision—and it is a general provision, but it represents Liberal principles—that pensions, having regard to the time and place whenever it may come to be determined, shall be paid to the soldier or to his dependents upon such a scale so as to enable him or them to maintain a liberal standard of living, sufficient to guarantee health, education, and all the necessities, comforts and amenities which go to make up a standard of living worthy of Canadian citizenship. I believe that no less should be done for the family of a soldier.

There is a further provision—and it is not by any means unimportant—that on account of the lack of uniformity of medical examinations, a travelling medical appeal board be provided for.

Lastly, there is a provision for the better centralization of employment agencies. May I say this further, Mr. Chairman?

One year ago to-day the Canadian forces were gathering around Gentelles Wood in front of Amiens, prepared on that memorable eighth of August to jump off in the morning to make the eleven-mile drive which began the advance which ended the war. They jumped off in the cold dawn of the next morning, to-morrow morning a year ago, and they went that eleven miles. Four weeks after that the Hindenburg Line broke at Drury. Three weeks after that they made the eight-mile advance from Bourlon Wood to Cambrai, and three weeks later they started from Marquion and went through Denain, Valenciennes and entered Mons on that dramatic 11th of November morning. In these wonderful three months this is what they did: they captured 31,000 prisoners, 623 pieces of artillery, 2,800 machine guns. They set free 500 square miles of territory, captured 228 towns and villages, and fought and defeated 47 divisions of the enemy—with four Canadian divisions. One-quarter of the German army met and defeated on French and Belgian soil by four divisions of the Canadian army in these memorable three months! These are the men for whom I am speaking to you to-day; these are the men who I believe will make good citizens of this country. These are the men who should be trained, and equipped, and assisted to take their rightful places as honoured and respected members of the community. These are the men who are entitled to a full measure of the privileges of democratic citizenship, and these are the men, believe me, who will share fully and cheerfully the responsibilities that will come to them in our national life.

Result of First Vote for Leader

Hon. Mr. Murray: The General Secretary reports as follows, as to the result of the voting:

> "I hereby certify that a total of 949 votes have been cast on the first ballot, and that under the rules no candidate has received a majority of the total ballots cast, and no choice has been made.
>
> (*Signed*) Andrew Haydon,
> *General Secretary.*"

Now, I am going to give you the number of votes polled for each candidate:

W. S. Fielding	297
George P. Graham	153
W. L. Mackenzie King	344
D. D. McKenzie	153
Spoiled ballots	2
	949

Under the rules, it is essential that a second ballot should be taken. Rule 8 says:

> "8. The balloting shall continue until a candidate receives a majority of the total ballots cast, and thereupon he shall be declared elected. Provided, however, that if no choice is made on the fourth balloting the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes on the fifth and succeeding ballots shall drop out of the contests."

Ladies and gentlemen, if you desire any further explanation in respect to this matter, I deem it my duty as one of the Chairman of this Convention to see that that information is supplied to you, because this is an important and serious matter. If there are no further questions to be asked, and if you all understand the situation, it will be the duty of the scrutineers to take up a second ballot, on ballot No. 2.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Will the scrutineers please distribute themselves along the aisles again and collect the ballots for a second vote. The same number of candidates are still in the field. As soon as you have voted, the tellers will again go out to the Ontario Committee room and wait there for the boxes. The meeting itself will proceed, and the motion which is now before the Convention will be seconded in an address by Hon. Dr. Beland.

At this point Dr. Beland was called upon, but was found to be not in the hall; accordingly the discussion of the resolution with regard to Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment was suspended temporarily.

The Railway Situation

Hon. Mr. Murray: We have an important situation here with regard to the railway situation. I am going to ask Mr. Graham to read this resolution and move its adoption.

Hon. George P. Graham (Ex-Minister of Railways in the Liberal Administration): Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I spoke to this resolution last night to some extent; consequently, I will simply read the resolution and make one remark about the last clause, to which I did not refer yesterday.

> "Whereas, the construction of the National Transcontinental Railway wholly upon Canadian soil including terminal facilities, and in the completion of the projected steamship connection with Europe and the Far East, thus affording the best possible transportation between the Orient and the Mother Country and opening up a large portion of Canada not before developed, and providing for lowering of the freight rates, was undertaken by the Liberal Government and Parliament of Canada, and
>
> "Whereas, the accomplishment of the purpose for which this transportation system was designed has been thwarted by the studied hostility of the Borden Administration, this Convention expresses its opinion that only by the defeat of the present Government can the beneficial results which should accrue from the construction of this great national transcontinental route be secured, and
>
> "Whereas, the Government, by its policy in dealing with the Canadian Northern Railway system, which in addition to granting of subsidies and guaranteeing of bonds, also made large loans of the the public monies and thus involved the Dominion of Canada in financial obligations which resulted in the Government assuming the ownership of the said system, and
>
> "Whereas in addition to assuming the enormous liabilities incurred by the purchase of the Canadian Northern Railway system the Borden Government forced through Parliament in contravention of legislation already on the statute book an Act under which $10,000,000 was paid to Canadian Northern Railway interests, the identity of whom has never been disclosed, this Convention condemns with all possible vigour this entire unbusinesslike transaction and demands full investigation into the conditions surrounding the

purchase of the Canadian Northern Railway and the destination of the monies paid,

"THE Government now owns and operates some 16,000 miles of railway; we believe that the present system of management by a Board, the majority of the members of which devote but a small portion of their time to this work, is unwieldy, inefficient, and extravagant, and that under it and the present administration public ownership and operation will not receive a fair trial.

"ADEQUATE facilities and tonnage for ocean traffic are a vital concern to the commerce of Canada, and the utter lack of foresight on the part of the Government in neglecting to see that such facilities and tonnage were provided for the immediate after-the-war period is not only humiliating to the Canadian people, but is materially impairing our export trade.

"AT this time when the country should be in a position to take full advantage of the opportunities to secure its proper share of the export business on which the financial, industrial and agricultural future of Canada depends, we are confronted with the lamentable situation that no adequate provision has been made for the transportation of the products of the farm, the factory and the forest to the markets of the world. With the knowledge of the enormous destruction of tonnage by the havoc of war in its possession, the failure of the Government to protect the trade of Canada against the condition that now confronts it shows an absence of business ability which merits the severest condemnation of the people of Canada.

"THIS Convention declares its fullest confidence in the future of Canada, believing that a wise and economical development of our natural resources and a judicious and vigorous immigration and colonization policy, coupled with stringent economy and efficient management in every department of government, will solve the transportation and other difficult problems now confronting the country."

I am not going to make a long speech; the only additional point I wish to mention is with regard to the question of shipping facilities at the seaboard. I wish merely to point out that while we were asked to produce on the farm and in the factory, and to increase the products of the forest and the fisheries, in order to be able to take our share of the export trade immediately after the war, we now find that we have produced an abundance of goods for shipment, but we have not any tonnage by which we can ship them.

The resolution was adopted.

PROHIBITION

HON. MR. MURRAY: The next resolution is with regard to prohibition and will be moved by Mrs. Helen Bentley, of Kent, and seconded by Mrs. R. W. Ball, of St. Thomas.

MRS. HELEN BENTLEY (Kent, Ont.): Mr. Chairman and Liberal Friends—for friends we are, or should be, having the same deep interests at heart—I come from the eastern end of the province of Ontario, from Kent County, to watch as far as possible the interests of women along labor lines, social and industrial reform, and prohibition, and especially child welfare, mothers' welfare and prohibition. The women of our district are deeply interested in this movement. They feel that they

have not been dealt exactly fairly with in the past, in regard to the matter of prohibition. They feel that the question has been dallied with; that there has been a tendency to play tag and peek-a-boo with it, rather than meet it face to face in the open and slay the dragon.

Some of our political aspirants, the women consider, are much in the same position as that which is described as being occupied by a prominent opposition leader who was mentioned by the press lately; they said he had taken a violent and firm stand on top of the fence. That has been the position, our women consider, which has been taken by both parties in the past. I believe that I voice the feeling of the women of the province when I say that they will be almost sure to win out upon this question, and we might as well bow gracefully to the inevitable—but it is a matter of its being forced upon us.

It may be that the Convention considers that this is the wrong time of the month to try to get a prohibition plank into the Liberal platform; that the signs of the zodiac may not be just right—but we consider that they are.

We are also in the dog days, and it is strange that our political aspirants sidle up so carefully to the water-wagon and then all fall into a fit of hydrophobia, as some of their predecessors have done in the past. The women feel that so long as this evil is allowed in the country, they are much in the same position as that which a person would be in whose neighbor insisted on keeping snakes for pets—rattlesnakes and copperheads. The keeper of those snakes may try to persuade his neighbors that they are perfectly harmless, that they will not injure him in any way, and that only occasionally he will let them out for recreation. But the neighbor feels that so long as that snake or those snakes are in the neighborhood, the only thing to do is to take an axe and go after them.

The women are looking for great things from this Liberal Convention, and from the Liberal party. We have faith that the Liberal party will do what is just and honorable; they have pledged themselves to do what is honorable in regard to other matters, and we believe that they will do what is just and right in regard to the matter of prohibition.

We must live up to the principles of right; if we do so, we shall flourish; otherwise, we shall be in the position in which the Union Government and the Conservation finds itself—not to be relied upon. If we do what is just and right and live up to the best dictates of our conscience, then we may have no fear for the future.

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers;
But error, wounded, writhes with pain
And dies among his worshippers."

We are quite satisfied with the resolution as placed in my hands; provided the Federal Government will give us all the legislation that we need in the future. The resolution is as follows:

> "WHEREAS, the regulation, restriction and prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors, within their several jurisdictions, are vested in the provinces, this Convention is firmly of the opinion that when, for the effective enforcement of restrictive or prohibitive legislation enacted by any province, supplemental federal legislation is, by the legislature of said provinces, deemed necessary, such legislation should, on the request of said legislature, be enacted by the Federal Parliament."

Trusting, then, in the action of the Federal Government—which, we feel quite sure, will be a Liberal Government in the very near future—I take great pleasure in moving this resolution, seconded by Mrs. Ball, of St. Thomas.

Mrs. R. W. Ball (St. Thomas): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, when I was asked or appointed to come to this Convention, I began to ask myself the question: What is the greatest need for Canada to-day? And I came to the conclusion that we needed men—strong and stalwart men, who were prepared to face anything for their country. Since coming here, I have been simply delighted and charmed. I have had the lesson of my life, because Canada, in the Liberal party, possesses men, every inch men—true, clean, honest and upright men—who will stand with their backs to the wall and their faces to the foe and will say, one and all: "Here I stand; these are my principles; I can no other, so help me God."

Imagine, if you will, a large barrack square. All is silent save for the cheery whistle and the snatch of song now and again. Presently a small boy of sixteen summers detaches himself, goes to the front, and gives the assembly call. Then from here and there come forward, prepared to do their duty, anxious to get into the fray and into the fight, numbers of sturdy fellows. And then the sergeant-major stands forward and says one word: "Ready?"—and the answer comes back, all down the line, "Ready, aye ready."

Your new leader and mine will stand out quite shortly and he will say: "There is a fight coming; wrong has to be righted; right has to be freely enjoyed; the old banner of liberty and freedom must once more wave over Canada. Are you ready, Liberals of Canada?" What will be your answer?

In seconding this resolution I wish to say that much has been achieved in the matter of prohibition by the provincial legislative assemblies. Much has been attempted that has not been carried into effect, because of the lack of co-operation on the part of the Federal Government, which has certain more or less well-defined powers in this matter. What is particularly desired and what is especially dealt with in this resolution is the desire of this Convention to urge the unity and co-operation of the Government at Ottawa with the governments of the individual provinces in securing conditions which seem to the provinces to be requisite for their social and moral well-being.

I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was adopted.

Hon. Dr. Beland spoke in French in support of the Resolution with regard to soldiers' Civil Re-establishment and the resolution was carried unanimously.

Result of Second Ballot for Leader

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Order, while the Chairman announces the result of the second ballot.

Hon. Mr. Murray: This is report No. 2:

> "I hereby certify that a total of 939 votes has been cast on the second ballot, and that under the rules no candidate has received a majority of the total ballots cast and no choice has been made.
>
> (*Signed*) Andrew Haydon,
> *General Secretary.*"

The result is as follows:

Mr. Fielding	344
Mr. Graham	124
Mr. King	411
Mr. McKenzie	60
	939

Hon. Mr. Murphy: In connection with the second vote it was intimated to the Chairman that some of the delegates had left the hall and were not in their places when the ballots were collected for the second vote. It was therefore suggested that before another ballot was taken the trumpeter on the stage would sound a call outside of the hall and that five minutes later he would sound another call on the stage and that thereupon the third ballot would be taken. That will now be done. Do not mark your ballots because there may be a reason for not marking them at the present time. Wait until the vote is announced from the stage.

Mr. Graham Retires

Hon. Mr. Graham: Ladies and Gentlemen, in order to expedite the proceedings and for other reasons which are evident I wish to retire.

Mr. T. H. Shipway: If those who marked their ballots before you spoke scratch the name out and put in the name of the party they wish to vote for will it be all right?

Mr. Dewart: A number have marked their ballots already.

Hon. Mr. Murray: In view of the declaration of Mr. Graham my own personal judgment would be that if a man had marked his ballot for Mr. Graham he could scratch it out and mark it for one of the other candidates. That would be my own judgment.

Cries: "They are in the box."

Hon. Mr. Murray: If they are in the box they cannot be recalled.

Mr. D. A. Rose (Toronto): If they are in the box count them as against the other candidates. If these ballots are in the box they will be totalled in the majority.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Certainly.

Hon. Frank Oliver: You will have to cancel that vote.

Hon. Mr. Murray: We are a lot of rational men. I am going to call around me, if I may be permitted, my associate chairman and deputy chairmen, and just give us three minutes now, because this is an important matter.

A short conference took place between the chairmen and vice-chairmen after which the Hon. Mr. Murray said:

Now we have reached the conclusion to cancel ballot paper No. 3, take ballot No. 4 and on that have a new vote in view of the declaration of Mr. Graham. That is fair to everybody.

A Delegate: Provided the vote is not taken now.

Hon. Mr. Murray: The vote is not taken now.

A Delegate: Lots of people have cast their ballots already.

Another Delegate: Has Mr. McKenzie retired?

Hon. Mr. Murray: No.

A Delegate: Who are the candidates?

Hon. Mr. Murray: Messrs. Fielding, King and McKenzie

A Delegate: Under the rules—

A Delegate: Everybody sit down.

Mr. Shipway: I understand there are several who have marked their ballots, put them into the ballot box and left the hall.

Hon. Mr. Murray: We know that. Ladies and Gentlemen, in view of the fact that the statement of Mr. Graham was made after some people had placed their ballots in the box, without the knowledge that he intended to retire, we have decided that the entire ballot be cancelled and that a new ballot be proceeded with. The scrutineers will retire and empty the boxes, and we will proceed with a new ballot with the knowledge that Mr. Graham has retired. There remain in the field Messrs. King, Fielding and McKenzie. With everybody having that knowledge and with a fresh ballot, I think it is fair to all.

Mr. MacMillan: A number voted and then left the hall. If you proceed with the ballot immediately an injustice will be done. If you defer taking the next ballot until after supper it will be quite fair.

Cries of "no, no."

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Will you take your seats for a moment and this matter will be easily adjusted. Some confusion has resulted as you see. Order; will the gentlemen who are standing please take their seats? The decision of the Chairman is that in view of the misunderstanding occasioned by Mr. Graham's retirement as a candidate, ballot paper No. 3 is cancelled because some delegates had already deposited these ballots numbered three in the box marked with Mr. Graham's, or some other candidate's name. To clear the matter up properly, all delegates should deposit ballot paper No. 3 in the ballot box so that their books will not contain ballot No. 3. Then the scrutineers will retire, empty the boxes, and come back and when the chair makes the announcement, everybody will vote on ballot paper No. 4 so that there will be no confusion.

This explanation was repeated in French by Sir Lomer Gouin.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Let every delegate deposit his or her ballot, No. 3, in the ballot box whether you have marked it or not. In view of the fact that ballot No. 3 is to be cancelled, it is not necessary to mark it, but tear it out of the ballot books so that no further confusion will ensue.

Mr. Veniot: Is it not a fact that there is a rule that no candidate can retire until after the fourth ballot?

Hon. Mr. Murray: No; he can retire at any time.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: It is very essential that all of you deposit ballot No. 3 in the ballot box because if you use ballot No. 3 on the next vote it will not be counted. The next ballot in your book on which you will vote is ballot No. 4; so see to it that you deposit ballot No. 3 in the ballot box before the scrutineers go out of the hall.

Mr. McKenzie Retires

Mr. D. D. McKenzie: Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank my friends for the support that I have received in this Convention, but I now beg to retire from the field.

A splendid tribute was paid to Mr. McKenzie in recognition of his great public and political services, the delegates rising and cheering him enthusiastically.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: The Chairman announces that when the general secretary reports that the ballot boxes have been emptied and that the scrutineers are ready to take up another vote, the balloting will be proceeded with.

A Delegate: What number of ballot on the next vote?

HON. MR. MURPHY: Four.

A DELEGATE: Might I suggest that lots of men have used ballot No. 4 and that it has already been marked for Mr. D. D. McKenzie?

The explanation, just made by Mr. Murphy, was repeated in French by Sir Lomer Gouin.

HON. MR. MURPHY: Although announcements have been made over and over again, it has been suggested that once more the delegates be requested not to mark the next ballot until they are told that the time for balloting has arrived. I beg to repeat that announcement.

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Too late.

HON. MR. MURPHY: It has been further suggested that the scrutineers will be asked not to take up any further ballots until they are so instructed from the platform.

MR. FRANK S. CAHILL, M.P.: I understand there has been a number of No. 4 ballots already marked. I am just mentioning that so that it may be made clear as to what the position is in regard to these ballots.

HON. MR. MURPHY: If the delegates will refrain from marking their ballots for a few minutes, the confusion will be cleared up. In fact the whole thing will be straightened out if the delegates will do nothing until after the ballot boxes are emptied and instructions are issued from the chair.

A DELEGATE: But it has been done already.

HON. MR. TURGEON: The ballots are marked for Mr. McKenzie.

HON. MR. MURPHY: Wait; the chairman knows that, but the chairman is going to issue instructions that will meet the difficulty.

MR. SHIPWAY: I would advise that the bugle be sounded again before a vote is taken.

HON. MR. MURPHY: The scrutineers will be good enough to report to the Chairman that all their boxes have been emptied before any instruction is given for the taking of a new ballot. The scrutineers will see to it that ballots Nos. 3 and 4, if deposited in their boxes, are cleared out. Are the boxes empty?

SEVERAL SCRUTINEERS: Yes.

HON. MR. MURPHY: Are the scrutineers at the rear of the hall answering that their boxes are empty?

SEVERAL SCRUTINEERS IN THE BODY OF THE HALL: Yes.

HON. MR. MURPHY: Please do not do any more marking of ballots; wait until the gentlemen in consultation on the stage reach a decision and wait until that decision is announced. If any delegates still have ballots Nos. 3 and 4, please tear them up.

A DELEGATE: No. 5?

HON. MR. MURPHY: Somebody says "No. 5." No. If anybody has ballot No. 3 tear it up, if anybody has ballot No. 4 tear it up and do not do any more writing.

HON. MR. MURRAY: Have you all ballot No. 5 unmarked?

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Yes.

HON. MR. MURRAY: Is there any one delegate with ballot No. 5 marked?

A DELEGATE: Yes.

HON. MR. MURRAY: With a ballot marked for either one of the two candidates remaining, Mr. Fielding or Mr. King?

A DELEGATE: Yes.

HON. MR. MURRAY: Let us distinctly understand this. Has everybody ballot No. 5 remaining and capable of being used? Is that the understanding?

A DELEGATE: No. 10?

HON. MR. MURRAY: No; we will take a new ballot on ballot paper No. 5 for the two candidates.

A DELEGATE: Mine is marked already.

HON. MR. MURRAY: Do you all understand that? Send somebody down to the middle of the hall and take this megaphone.

HON. JOHN OLIVER (Premier of British Columbia) went through the hall making this announcement:—The next vote is going to be taken on ballot No. 5. Do not mark your ballot until you are told to.

HON. MR. MURRAY: Now, do you understand that two candidates alone remain and that you use ballot paper No. 5?

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Yes.

HON. MR. MURRAY: Everybody understands that?

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Yes.

SIR LOMER GOUIN: Messieurs, il reste deux candidats: l'honorable W. S. Fielding et l'honorable W. L. Mackenzie King. M. McKenzie, comme il l'a dit lui-même, s'est retiré. Vous votez pour ces deux candidats, sur le bulletin numéro 5.

The ballots were marked in accordance with these directions, collected by the scrutineers and given to the tellers to be counted.

NATIONAL UNITY.

HON. MR. MURRAY: We have a number of resolutions here, one of which deals with the question of national unity. I will ask Mr. John Boyd of Montreal to move this resolution and Mr. Donald Downie of Vancouver to second it.

MR. JOHN BOYD (Montreal): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution which I have to propose reads as follows:

> "RECOGNIZING that the crown of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's life work, and the dearest wish of his heart, was the establishment of racial concord and national unity throughout the Dominion, the Liberal party of Canada in National Convention assembled emphatically condemn all attempts to create racial discord and national disunion and would hold up as a lasting example to the Canadian people the inspiring ideal of that great Canadian—a united Canada in which all Canadians shall be on an equal footing, all working together in harmony and concord for the upbuilding and aggrandizement of their common country."

At this stage of the proceedings and under the circumstances, especially the heat, I am not going to occupy the attention of this gathering except for one or two minutes. In a few hours this historic gathering which means so much for Liberalism will have passed into the great events of history. The delegates will go to their respective homes from one end of Canada to the other. What ideal shall they carry with them? What greater ideal could they carry with them than the lesson taught by that great man, who for fifty years preached conciliation, harmony and concord between the great races of this country? I need not tell you, ladies and gentlemen, because you all know it, that his dearest wish was that harmony and concord prevail, but, unfortunately, there have been people in this Dominion—thank God none of them were Liberals—who have for the basest political purposes endeavored to arouse discord. They have endeavored to set race against race and creed against creed, but this great Convention of Liberals from all parts of the Dominion is evidence, I take it, that their work has failed and that French-

Canadians and English-speaking Canadians are as one in their devotion to their common country. Coming from the province of Quebec, I am sure I do not need, before this Convention, to say that the people of that province are loyal to the best interests of Canada. You have seen how the people of Quebec are represented at this Convention and you know, as all others know, that the people of Quebec are essentially Canadians, that they are devoted to Canada, and that, like the rest of us, they are desirous of building up a great and united country. When we go from this hall, let us go forth to our respective homes from the Atlantic to the far away waters of the Pacific, carrying with us in our hearts and minds the ideal of that great man whose memory we reverence, and who will ever remain in Canadian history as one of the greatest men. Let us try to work out his ideal of a united country and when the decisive moment comes, whoever our leader may be, let us rally around him and, with the inspiration that we derive from the life and ideals of the great Chieftain who is gone, let us carry on the fight until Liberalism, freedom and democracy shall be triumphant in Canada.

Mr. Donald Downie (Vancouver): Monsieur le Président, mesdames et messieurs, je vous parle en anglais, puisque, des deux langues qui se parlent ici, la langue barbare de notre race est la seule qui est comprise par tout le monde.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, in seconding this resolution, I have the honor to speak of one big union. That Big Union is the union of Canadians of every race and creed for good government, for Liberalism and for Canada.

In 1917 a great political crime was committed. It shall be told in history, but it shall scarcely be believed that in our English-speaking provinces, and particularly in our far away province on the Pacific coast, there was a propaganda of race hatred carried on which was foreign and repugnant to all those of us who loved our country and had a keen sense of British fair play. We stand here to-day for tolerance and for the defence of that old British principle of liberality and justice which has enabled the British Empire to govern old races of every creed and color, and to civilize new peoples of every kind and clime. We stand here for the unity of Canada, and against the crime of National disintegration and disunion, by which a great political party, in 1917, could find no better way to retain political power for itself than to curse one province, and to try to turn one race against the other.

Consequently, it would be a pity to adjourn this great convention of Canadians without condemning that insincere campaign as it deserves, and affirming as Liberals the elementary proposition of the union of Canadians of every creed, and every tongue and every province. History shall speak of this Convention, and history shall speak of it and history shall judge us here not because of the difficulties we may have encountered, but because of the courage and audacity with which we have met them and overcome them. History shall speak, as they deserve, of the people who set up that cry of race and creed as a means of retaining political power on that occasion, and it shall place them upon a pinnacle of infamy from which posterity shall not easily take them down. The age of bigotry is past; the age of religious dissension is gone; and with Liberalism in the ascendant, the age of goodwill, peace, and a harmonious and united Canada has appeared and fanaticism is extinguished forever. Our land is the birthplace of the entente cordiale. And nothing gives me greater pleasure than to second here to-day this declaratory resolu-

Lt.-Col. J. Layton Ralston, C.M.G., D.S.O.: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the subject which I have to discuss this afternoon is not a subject, perhaps, which should be discussed at the tail end of the Convention, when everybody is hot and tired—I, no doubt, look a bit hot and tired myself. For the last week we have been endeavoring to reach some conclusions upon this subject. We have reached the conclusions as set forth in the resolution which I shall move, and it is for me to present them to you, and for you to decide whether or not you will concur in them.

I want everybody to understand that I am not here as an advocate of any resolution. What I am here for is to endeavor to place before you the considerations which the committee have had in view, and then it is for you to decide.

The resolution is as follows:

"1. Whereas, it is considered that the guiding principles for a permanent settlement of the problem of civil re-establishment should be equitable treatment to soldiers in all avocations, having regard to the length and nature of service,

"Resolved that this Convention declares that the adoption of a system of cash grants to the soldiers and the dependants of those who have fallen is the most satisfactory and effective means of civil re-establishment—such grants to be in addition to the present gratuity and to any pension for disability resulting from service.

"Further resolved that this Convention further considers:

"2. That the whole matter of the education of the returned soldier be placed in the hands of competent educational authorities to provide for the co-ordination, improvement, and extension of a system of educational training, both vocational and general.

"3. Insurance. That provision should be made whereby any increased cost of insurance in favor of the dependants of the soldier should be borne by the state where such increase arises from disability incurred during the war.

"4. Pensions.

"(*a*) That such pensions or allowances be granted as shall enable soldiers or their dependants, as the case may be, to maintain a liberal standard of living sufficient to guarantee health, education, and all the necessities, comforts and amenities which go to make up a standard of living worthy of Canadian citizenship.

"(*b*) That soldiers permanently partially disabled should be trained for some useful occupation selected by themselves, and for which they are fitted or can be fitted, for such length of time as shall render them efficient in same, and after being so trained should be assisted by the Government in obtaining employment at a rate of remuneration adequate to the services rendered in such employment.

"(*c*) That from the moment of discharge and until said training is completed and such employment found, the soldiers permanently partially disabled as aforesaid and their dependants should receive pensions or allowances amply sufficient to enable them to maintain the liberal standard of living as aforesaid, and when employment has been found for said soldiers upon the completion of their training, if the remuneration received in such employment is not sufficient to maintain such standard of living, the Government should provide the deficiency.

"(*d*) That soldiers who have returned or shall hereafter return partially or totally temporarily disabled, and their dependants, should receive, during the period of such disability, pensions or allowances amply sufficient to enable them to maintain a liberal standard of living as aforesaid.

"5. MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

"THAT steps should be taken to secure uniformity in medical decisions as to disabilities by establishing permanent travelling medical appeal boards.

"6. THAT more effective employment agencies should be created and the divergent efforts of the various organizations now in existence should be co-ordinated in a central authority.

"7. THAT reference to soldiers in this resolution is intended to include as well sailors, aviators, and nurses whenever applicable, and Canadian soldiers serving with any of the Imperial or Allied armies so far as the benefits hereunder have not been provided for by the Imperial or Allied Governments."

I feel very backward and very reticent as a returned soldier, in presenting a resolution of this kind, which, on the face of it, appears to grant some special consideration to the returned soldier. But I feel that, in view of the sympathy which has been expressed in the Committee, you will hear me, and you will remember the position which I take and will endeavor to follow the trend of thought which this Committee has followed in the days that have passed.

The question is this: how can we best put the returned soldier back into civil life and prejudice him the least, on account of the three or four years that he has lost on account of his having been away at the war, while others have been at home? In the solution of that problem a good many hours and a good many days have been spent, and perhaps you may not think it has been solved even now.

We feel that in the best interests of Canada, as in the best interests of the returned soldier, it is necessary that the returned soldier be re-established into civil life, in regard to employment, in regard to training, in regard to the possibility of living comfortably and decently, as nearly as possible as if he had not gone to war. Certain gratuities, so-called, have been granted, but the present Government have given evidence that they do not consider those gratuities to be altogether sufficient. They have made provision that men who are willing to go upon the land shall receive special assistance by way of loans at reduced rates of interest, and for long terms. The question in this country at the present time, not only from the returned soldier but from the sober-minded civilian as well, is this: whether or not it is altogether fair to give special consideration to one class, or to one faction, in the community. That is the serious consideration which we have to face to-day. For a further instance of recognition of the returned soldier we have to remember that, at the end of the South African War, every returned veteran was given a free grant of land. I think the average amount for which these grants were sold was $350 or $400. A great many of these men were made the subject of improper devices by land speculators, and did not get the full value of their land.

To-day the problem is: what can we best do for the soldier in order to get him back into civil life? If the assistance which has been given is not sufficient; if the gratuity is not enough, what further should be done? If the man who goes on the land is to be assisted, what about the artisan;

what about the man who is going to college; what about the man who had a little business before he went away or who desires to start one after he comes back; what about all these other occupations? These are men who can fairly say: we want some sort of assistance, for we have a bona fide business or other occupation in which we want to make an investment.

Your Committee sat for three days, and they considered this question very carefully. They almost came to the conclusion that the only way in which the great Liberal party could inaugurate a policy which could be fair to all classes would be to provide that a man in any business or occupation, which he could show to a competent board was a sound commercial project, should receive assistance to the extent of a limited amount, just the same as the farmer.

You will see in a moment the difficulty which presents itself in connection with working that out. We felt, further, that the course which had been followed in England should be adopted here; that a man who had begun a university education should be further fitted, should be given further training at the expense of the state. That system is also in vogue in Australia at the present time, and, they say, is working well.

We felt also that the Government should be responsible, to a certain extent, for providing employment for men who come back, even though they be able-bodied men. These were some of the alternatives we had before us, and on which some of us had very strong opinions.

But this was the difficulty: if you start making any more departments; if you provide more inspectors, more boards, more appraisers, more supervisors, more people for the returned soldier to meet, more offices all over the country where the returned soldier will have to go to see about his loans, or his grant of money, or whatever it may be, you increase the expense; you make the regulations difficult to administer. Moreover, it is absolutely impossible to get two boards in two different provinces who will decide that a project is sound commercially, on the same basis in one province as it is in another; therefore, there would be constant dissatisfaction among the returned men on account of the decision of these boards. The greatest difficulty would be experienced in providing departmental organization and suitable administration for that purpose.

And so, an alternative came up; and it is the alternative which has been facing this country for some time, in one way or another. The matter has been a good deal more acute in the West than it has been in the East. But the simple proposition was: why not let the returned soldier repatriate himself? Why not give him reasonable assistance along the lines of the South African grant, put the money in his hand and let him start to work. That was the proposal that came before the committee last, and that is the principle upon which you are asked to vote this afternoon.

Now, these are the arguments—and I want you to think of them as you are voting, because I may say that I came here as strong an advocate of the idea of assisting the soldier by providing him with employment and by helping him in his training, and by making him loans in his business, as anybody else. But I am bound to say that I am not as strong in that opinion to-day; I believe that the right principle is that which is embodied in the resolution which I have read.

These are the reasons. First, a matter of administration. All you have to do, in giving a returned soldier a cash grant, is to issue a cheque

to him, and the thing is done. You do not have to have a board; you do not have to have appraisers for him to go to; you have no overhead administration at all. At the present time, in the department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, there are 585 clerks in that little building in Ottawa, and throughout the country there are offices, and staffs, and the overhead expense of keeping up these offices must be tremendous. All that is done away with if you adopt the principle that the best way to re-establish the soldier is to give him a cash grant.

The second reason is this: The soldier, after all, feels that he ought to be treated at least as an ordinary citizen; that he should not have to have his private business pried into in order that the authorities may find out whether or not he is making a fool of himself in some investment or other; that he should not be subjected to all sorts of boards and appraisers who advise him how to run his little business. Most of them, I think, if they got a little bit of money, could be trusted to go and invest it at least as wisely as some of the men who at the present time are saying that they should not have it except by way of loans. I submit that it is irksome—not only irksome, it is unfair; not only unfair, it takes too long; it is too cumbersome—to work out a system whereby the returned soldier will speedily get back into civil life if we are going to establish all these boards and restrictions and limitations in connection with advances or assistance.

Another point is this: Suppose you do assist the returned soldier by way of an advance; what is going to happen if he does not make good? Is the country going to make him pay? Perhaps they are, and perhaps they are not. If advances are made by way of loans, it is quite possible that at the end of five years this country will have a lot of business wrecks on their hands, and they will either have to forgive the debt or incur the ignominy of forcing the returned soldier out of his home or out of his business and taking his property.

So it seems to me that these are the considerations which should appeal to us when we come to decide which way we should go about assisting the returned soldier.

Now, as to the cost. The resolution does not state the amount of the cash grant, because no man here to-day can say what the amount is that can be paid to the returned soldier. So far as I can find out, the returned soldier is not unreasonable; he realizes the obligations which are upon this country, and when he hears people proposing to lend him money for all sorts of things—for things which are not good business—he begins to think that perhaps the country has a lot more money stowed away somewhere, and he might as well have some of it one way as another. I say that the returned soldier is not unreasonable; and it is a matter for this country to decide, after we have decided upon the principle, how much this assistance should be.

I do not suppose there is anybody in this audience who understands or knows to a certainty what are the financial obligations of this country at the present time, or who could presume to know how much or how little the country could afford to pay to three or four hundred thousand men scattered all over the country. That is a matter which will have to be considered later. What we do want you to vote on is whether or not the re-establishment of the returned soldier shall be effected by cash grants or whether it shall be by the old method of advances by way of loans.

Now, what are the arguments against it? Some say that we do not want to pay the soldier for patriotism—and God knows that the soldier does not want you to pay him for patriotism. All the soldier asks is this: "I want to be put back in a position equivalent, or as nearly so as possible, to that in which I would have been if I had not left this country. I see Tom, Dick and Harry running business enterprises, making good money, owning their own property perhaps, ready to go on with their life work, but I am three years behind."

The other argument is that the adoption of such a proposal as this would not be good for the soldier. Now, I want to tell you this—and it is not a trite argument; it is absolutely sound—these men had ability, and initiative, and resource, in sufficient degree to cause them to go over to France and Belgium, and to handle the situation over there—and to handle it in such a way that our country is our own to-day. Do you not think, therefore, that they can be trusted to take care of any little bit of property that they have. No doubt some of them will misspend the money, but plenty of money is being misspent in this country at the present time by other people than returned soldiers, and some of it is being misspent which could properly be diverted to that very channel. There is not so much argument, therefore, in the suggestion that perhaps three, four, five, or ten per cent of the soldiers would not make the wisest use of their money.

Do you know what the soldier wants? He does not want quite so many tags tied to him; he does not want a string put on him here or there about everything which is done for him. What he wants is sympathy and advice along business lines; he is as willing to take advice from business men who are his friends, provided he does not have it crammed down his throat. If this money is distributed under proper regulation, and the men given to understand how they may best invest it, I feel sure that you will find very little misspending of this money. Moreover, the money would be spent in this country. Four hundred thousand is at least one quarter in number of the tax-payers of Canada, and the returned soldier is going to help to pay the money back; he is going to spend his money in this country.

The things which the returned soldier would like to do with this money are these—and these instances have come before the Committee. He may want to build a house. He can build a house at the present time, provided he borrows money from the town—that is to say, if the town council want to give their bonds to the province and the province want to give their bonds to the Dominion, as long a way around as you can possibly get. Would it not be much better to give him the money direct and let him invest it in the house?

He wants to start a business. He has a little money on hand; he has the money to do it with, if he gets this help. He wants to finish a university education. He wants to put away a little nest-egg—and, perhaps some fellow may want to blow it in. Well, let him blow it in, for all the small percentage that the aggregate would amount to. That, then, is the issue; that is the thing upon which you have to decide; that is the most important matter of principle in the resolution, which is submitted for your consideration.

You will see that by the adoption of this resolution you do away with assistance with regard to the vocational training of men who are physically fit, because they get their cash grant. You do away with assistance in the way of university education, because the man has the money to go

on with. You do away with the assistance to the business man, because he has his money; and you do away with assistance to the man who wants to build a house, because he has the cash on hand to do it with.

The other matters dealt with in the resolution are these. No man is more vitally interested than the returned soldier in the subject of education. He realizes that education is an asset in the national life of this country; that the better trained men we have the more the demand will be for those men; the more skilled our labour is and the more intellectual and trained our citizens are, the better our Canadians will be and the stronger will be the national life of Canada. The returned soldier has as much interest as anybody in the improvement of that national life. We believe that the best use is not being made at the present time of the educational facilities which are available in this country. The universities are empty and closed for three or four months in the summer; these could be used for summer courses in insurance, banking, bookkeeping, vocational and manual training. The technical colleges could include in their courses a system of apprenticeship, something which is desired, not only by returned soldiers, but by other labouring men as well.

This resolution lays down the general principles that competent educational authorities should take up the question of the education, vocational or otherwise, of the returned soldiers, and of the dependants of those who have fallen. That is as far as the resolution goes, and that is sufficient, if it is done in the proper spirit, by competent authorities, to accomplish the object desired.

I may say that the university presidents met here in Ottawa in the early part of this year, and made recommendations to the present Government along the lines that I have mentioned, but no response whatever has been received—that is to say, no encouraging response of any kind. At the present time no assistance is being given to returned men who want to finish their high school or university courses, unless they happen to be disabled, or unless they are men who enlisted as minors. In England, as I pointed out some time ago, they are training Canadian soldiers who enlisted with the Imperial army, came back to Canada, were demobilized, and are now back in England receiving a training at the expense of the English tax-payers—because they know what education means. In Australia the same thing is being done, and I believe that Canada should do the same thing.

There is a provision in the resolution whereby a disabled man is put upon the same footing as he was before, with regard to the obtaining of insurance. In other words, the state pays the difference in the cost of insurance, because of any disablement which he may have suffered at the war.

There is a further provision—and it is a general provision, but it represents Liberal principles—that pensions, having regard to the time and place whenever it may come to be determined, shall be paid to the soldier or to his dependents upon such a scale so as to enable him or them to maintain a liberal standard of living, sufficient to guarantee health, education, and all the necessities, comforts and amenities which go to make up a standard of living worthy of Canadian citizenship. I believe that no less should be done for the family of a soldier.

There is a further provision—and it is not by any means unimportant—that on account of the lack of uniformity of medical examinations, a travelling medical appeal board be provided for.

Lastly, there is a provision for the better centralization of employment agencies. May I say this further, Mr. Chairman?

One year ago to-day the Canadian forces were gathering around Gentelles Wood in front of Amiens, prepared on that memorable eighth of August to jump off in the morning to make the eleven-mile drive which began the advance which ended the war. They jumped off in the cold dawn of the next morning, to-morrow morning a year ago, and they went that eleven miles. Four weeks after that the Hindenburg Line broke at Drury. Three weeks after that they made the eight-mile advance from Bourlon Wood to Cambrai, and three weeks later they started from Marquion and went through Denain, Valenciennes and entered Mons on that dramatic 11th of November morning. In these wonderful three months this is what they did: they captured 31,000 prisoners, 623 pieces of artillery, 2,800 machine guns. They set free 500 square miles of territory, captured 228 towns and villages, and fought and defeated 47 divisions of the enemy—with four Canadian divisions. One-quarter of the German army met and defeated on French and Belgian soil by four divisions of the Canadian army in these memorable three months! These are the men for whom I am speaking to you to-day; these are the men who I believe will make good citizens of this country. These are the men who should be trained, and equipped, and assisted to take their rightful places as honoured and respected members of the community. These are the men who are entitled to a full measure of the privileges of democratic citizenship, and these are the men, believe me, who will share fully and cheerfully the responsibilities that will come to them in our national life.

Result of First Vote for Leader

Hon. Mr. Murray: The General Secretary reports as follows, as to the result of the voting:

> "I hereby certify that a total of 949 votes have been cast on the first ballot, and that under the rules no candidate has received a majority of the total ballots cast, and no choice has been made.
>
> (*Signed*) Andrew Haydon,
> *General Secretary.*"

Now, I am going to give you the number of votes polled for each candidate:

W. S. Fielding	297
George P. Graham	153
W. L. Mackenzie King	344
D. D. McKenzie	153
Spoiled ballots	2
	949

Under the rules, it is essential that a second ballot should be taken. Rule 8 says:

> "8. The balloting shall continue until a candidate receives a majority of the total ballots cast, and thereupon he shall be declared elected. Provided, however, that if no choice is made on the fourth balloting the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes on the fifth and succeeding ballots shall drop out of the contests."

Ladies and gentlemen, if you desire any further explanation in respect to this matter, I deem it my duty as one of the Chairman of this Convention to see that that information is supplied to you, because this is an important and serious matter. If there are no further questions to be asked, and if you all understand the situation, it will be the duty of the scrutineers to take up a second ballot, on ballot No. 2.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Will the scrutineers please distribute themselves along the aisles again and collect the ballots for a second vote. The same number of candidates are still in the field. As soon as you have voted, the tellers will again go out to the Ontario Committee room and wait there for the boxes. The meeting itself will proceed, and the motion which is now before the Convention will be seconded in an address by Hon. Dr. Beland.

At this point Dr. Beland was called upon, but was found to be not in the hall; accordingly the discussion of the resolution with regard to Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment was suspended temporarily.

The Railway Situation

Hon. Mr. Murray: We have an important situation here with regard to the railway situation. I am going to ask Mr. Graham to read this resolution and move its adoption.

Hon. George P. Graham (Ex-Minister of Railways in the Liberal Administration): Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I spoke to this resolution last night to some extent; consequently, I will simply read the resolution and make one remark about the last clause, to which I did not refer yesterday.

> "Whereas, the construction of the National Transcontinental Railway wholly upon Canadian soil including terminal facilities, and in the completion of the projected steamship connection with Europe and the Far East, thus affording the best possible transportation between the Orient and the Mother Country and opening up a large portion of Canada not before developed, and providing for lowering of the freight rates, was undertaken by the Liberal Government and Parliament of Canada, and
>
> "Whereas, the accomplishment of the purpose for which this transportation system was designed has been thwarted by the studied hostility of the Borden Administration, this Convention expresses its opinion that only by the defeat of the present Government can the beneficial results which should accrue from the construction of this great national transcontinental route be secured, and
>
> "Whereas, the Government, by its policy in dealing with the Canadian Northern Railway system, which in addition to granting of subsidies and guaranteeing of bonds, also made large loans of the the public monies and thus involved the Dominion of Canada in financial obligations which resulted in the Government assuming the ownership of the said system, and
>
> "Whereas in addition to assuming the enormous liabilities incurred by the purchase of the Canadian Northern Railway system the Borden Government forced through Parliament in contravention of legislation already on the statute book an Act under which $10,000,000 was paid to Canadian Northern Railway interests, the identity of whom has never been disclosed, this Convention condemns with all possible vigour this entire unbusinesslike transaction and demands full investigation into the conditions surrounding the

purchase of the Canadian Northern Railway and the destination of the monies paid,

"THE Government now owns and operates some 16,000 miles of railway; we believe that the present system of management by a Board, the majority of the members of which devote but a small portion of their time to this work, is unwieldy, inefficient, and extravagant, and that under it and the present administration public ownership and operation will not receive a fair trial.

"ADEQUATE facilities and tonnage for ocean traffic are a vital concern to the commerce of Canada, and the utter lack of foresight on the part of the Government in neglecting to see that such facilities and tonnage were provided for the immediate after-the-war period is not only humiliating to the Canadian people, but is materially impairing our export trade.

"AT this time when the country should be in a position to take full advantage of the opportunities to secure its proper share of the export business on which the financial, industrial and agricultural future of Canada depends, we are confronted with the lamentable situation that no adequate provision has been made for the transportation of the products of the farm, the factory and the forest to the markets of the world. With the knowledge of the enormous destruction of tonnage by the havoc of war in its possession, the failure of the Government to protect the trade of Canada against the condition that now confronts it shows an absence of business ability which merits the severest condemnation of the people of Canada.

"THIS Convention declares its fullest confidence in the future of Canada, believing that a wise and economical development of our natural resources and a judicious and vigorous immigration and colonization policy, coupled with stringent economy and efficient management in every department of government, will solve the transportation and other difficult problems now confronting the country."

I am not going to make a long speech; the only additional point I wish to mention is with regard to the question of shipping facilities at the seaboard. I wish merely to point out that while we were asked to produce on the farm and in the factory, and to increase the products of the forest and the fisheries, in order to be able to take our share of the export trade immediately after the war, we now find that we have produced an abundance of goods for shipment, but we have not any tonnage by which we can ship them.

The resolution was adopted.

PROHIBITION

HON. MR. MURRAY: The next resolution is with regard to prohibition and will be moved by Mrs. Helen Bentley, of Kent, and seconded by Mrs. R. W. Ball, of St. Thomas.

MRS. HELEN BENTLEY (Kent, Ont.): Mr. Chairman and Liberal Friends—for friends we are, or should be, having the same deep interests at heart—I come from the eastern end of the province of Ontario, from Kent County, to watch as far as possible the interests of women along labor lines, social and industrial reform, and prohibition, and especially child welfare, mothers' welfare and prohibition. The women of our district are deeply interested in this movement. They feel that they

have not been dealt exactly fairly with in the past, in regard to the matter of prohibition. They feel that the question has been dallied with; that there has been a tendency to play tag and peek-a-boo with it, rather than meet it face to face in the open and slay the dragon.

Some of our political aspirants, the women consider, are much in the same position as that which is described as being occupied by a prominent opposition leader who was mentioned by the press lately; they said he had taken a violent and firm stand on top of the fence. That has been the position, our women consider, which has been taken by both parties in the past. I believe that I voice the feeling of the women of the province when I say that they will be almost sure to win out upon this question, and we might as well bow gracefully to the inevitable—but it is a matter of its being forced upon us.

It may be that the Convention considers that this is the wrong time of the month to try to get a prohibition plank into the Liberal platform; that the signs of the zodiac may not be just right—but we consider that they are.

We are also in the dog days, and it is strange that our political aspirants sidle up so carefully to the water-wagon and then all fall into a fit of hydrophobia, as some of their predecessors have done in the past. The women feel that so long as this evil is allowed in the country, they are much in the same position as that which a person would be in whose neighbor insisted on keeping snakes for pets—rattlesnakes and copperheads. The keeper of those snakes may try to persuade his neighbors that they are perfectly harmless, that they will not injure him in any way, and that only occasionally he will let them out for recreation. But the neighbor feels that so long as that snake or those snakes are in the neighborhood, the only thing to do is to take an axe and go after them.

The women are looking for great things from this Liberal Convention, and from the Liberal party. We have faith that the Liberal party will do what is just and honorable; they have pledged themselves to do what is honorable in regard to other matters, and we believe that they will do what is just and right in regard to the matter of prohibition.

We must live up to the principles of right; if we do so, we shall flourish; otherwise, we shall be in the position in which the Union Government and the Conservation finds itself—not to be relied upon. If we do what is just and right and live up to the best dictates of our conscience, then we may have no fear for the future.

> "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
> The eternal years of God are hers;
> But error, wounded, writhes with pain
> And dies among his worshippers."

We are quite satisfied with the resolution as placed in my hands; provided the Federal Government will give us all the legislation that we need in the future. The resolution is as follows:

> "WHEREAS, the regulation, restriction and prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors, within their several jurisdictions, are vested in the provinces, this Convention is firmly of the opinion that when, for the effective enforcement of restrictive or prohibitive legislation enacted by any province, supplemental federal legislation is, by the legislature of said provinces, deemed necessary, such legislation should, on the request of said legislature, be enacted by the Federal Parliament."

Trusting, then, in the action of the Federal Government—which, we feel quite sure, will be a Liberal Government in the very near future—I take great pleasure in moving this resolution, seconded by Mrs. Ball, of St. Thomas.

Mrs. R. W. Ball (St. Thomas): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, when I was asked or appointed to come to this Convention, I began to ask myself the question: What is the greatest need for Canada to-day? And I came to the conclusion that we needed men—strong and stalwart men, who were prepared to face anything for their country. Since coming here, I have been simply delighted and charmed. I have had the lesson of my life, because Canada, in the Liberal party, possesses men, every inch men—true, clean, honest and upright men—who will stand with their backs to the wall and their faces to the foe and will say, one and all: "Here I stand; these are my principles; I can no other, so help me God."

Imagine, if you will, a large barrack square. All is silent save for the cheery whistle and the snatch of song now and again. Presently a small boy of sixteen summers detaches himself, goes to the front, and gives the assembly call. Then from here and there come forward, prepared to do their duty, anxious to get into the fray and into the fight, numbers of sturdy fellows. And then the sergeant-major stands forward and says one word: "Ready?"—and the answer comes back, all down the line, "Ready, aye ready."

Your new leader and mine will stand out quite shortly and he will say: "There is a fight coming; wrong has to be righted; right has to be freely enjoyed; the old banner of liberty and freedom must once more wave over Canada. Are you ready, Liberals of Canada?" What will be your answer?

In seconding this resolution I wish to say that much has been achieved in the matter of prohibition by the provincial legislative assemblies. Much has been attempted that has not been carried into effect, because of the lack of co-operation on the part of the Federal Government, which has certain more or less well-defined powers in this matter. What is particularly desired and what is especially dealt with in this resolution is the desire of this Convention to urge the unity and co-operation of the Government at Ottawa with the governments of the individual provinces in securing conditions which seem to the provinces to be requisite for their social and moral well-being.

I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was adopted.

Hon. Dr. Beland spoke in French in support of the Resolution with regard to soldiers' Civil Re-establishment and the resolution was carried unanimously.

Result of Second Ballot for Leader

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Order, while the Chairman announces the result of the second ballot.

Hon. Mr. Murray: This is report No. 2:

> "I hereby certify that a total of 939 votes has been cast on the second ballot, and that under the rules no candidate has received a majority of the total ballots cast and no choice has been made.
>
> (*Signed*) Andrew Haydon,
> *General Secretary.*"

The result is as follows:

Mr. Fielding	344
Mr. Graham	124
Mr. King	411
Mr. McKenzie	60
	939

Hon. Mr. Murphy: In connection with the second vote it was intimated to the Chairman that some of the delegates had left the hall and were not in their places when the ballots were collected for the second vote. It was therefore suggested that before another ballot was taken the trumpeter on the stage would sound a call outside of the hall and that five minutes later he would sound another call on the stage and that thereupon the third ballot would be taken. That will now be done. Do not mark your ballots because there may be a reason for not marking them at the present time. Wait until the vote is announced from the stage.

Mr. Graham Retires

Hon. Mr. Graham: Ladies and Gentlemen, in order to expedite the proceedings and for other reasons which are evident I wish to retire.

Mr. T. H. Shipway: If those who marked their ballots before you spoke scratch the name out and put in the name of the party they wish to vote for will it be all right?

Mr. Dewart: A number have marked their ballots already.

Hon. Mr. Murray: In view of the declaration of Mr. Graham my own personal judgment would be that if a man had marked his ballot for Mr. Graham he could scratch it out and mark it for one of the other candidates. That would be my own judgment.

Cries: "They are in the box."

Hon. Mr. Murray: If they are in the box they cannot be recalled.

Mr. D. A. Rose (Toronto): If they are in the box count them as against the other candidates. If these ballots are in the box they will be totalled in the majority.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Certainly.

Hon. Frank Oliver: You will have to cancel that vote.

Hon. Mr. Murray: We are a lot of rational men. I am going to call around me, if I may be permitted, my associate chairman and deputy chairmen, and just give us three minutes now, because this is an important matter.

A short conference took place between the chairmen and vice-chairmen after which the Hon. Mr. Murray said:

Now we have reached the conclusion to cancel ballot paper No. 3, take ballot No. 4 and on that have a new vote in view of the declaration of Mr. Graham. That is fair to everybody.

A Delegate: Provided the vote is not taken now.

Hon. Mr. Murray: The vote is not taken now.

A Delegate: Lots of people have cast their ballots already.

Another Delegate: Has Mr. McKenzie retired?

Hon. Mr. Murray: No.

A Delegate: Who are the candidates?

Hon. Mr. Murray: Messrs. Fielding, King and McKenzie

A Delegate: Under the rules—

A Delegate: Everybody sit down.

Mr. Shipway: I understand there are several who have marked their ballots, put them into the ballot box and left the hall.

Hon. Mr. Murray: We know that. Ladies and Gentlemen, in view of the fact that the statement of Mr. Graham was made after some people had placed their ballots in the box, without the knowledge that he intended to retire, we have decided that the entire ballot be cancelled and that a new ballot be proceeded with. The scrutineers will retire and empty the boxes, and we will proceed with a new ballot with the knowledge that Mr. Graham has retired. There remain in the field Messrs. King, Fielding and McKenzie. With everybody having that knowledge and with a fresh ballot, I think it is fair to all.

Mr. MacMillan: A number voted and then left the hall. If you proceed with the ballot immediately an injustice will be done. If you defer taking the next ballot until after supper it will be quite fair.

Cries of "no, no."

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Will you take your seats for a moment and this matter will be easily adjusted. Some confusion has resulted as you see. Order; will the gentlemen who are standing please take their seats? The decision of the Chairman is that in view of the misunderstanding occasioned by Mr. Graham's retirement as a candidate, ballot paper No. 3 is cancelled because some delegates had already deposited these ballots numbered three in the box marked with Mr. Graham's, or some other candidate's name. To clear the matter up properly, all delegates should deposit ballot paper No. 3 in the ballot box so that their books will not contain ballot No. 3. Then the scrutineers will retire, empty the boxes, and come back and when the chair makes the announcement, everybody will vote on ballot paper No. 4 so that there will be no confusion.

This explanation was repeated in French by Sir Lomer Gouin.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Let every delegate deposit his or her ballot, No. 3, in the ballot box whether you have marked it or not. In view of the fact that ballot No. 3 is to be cancelled, it is not necessary to mark it, but tear it out of the ballot books so that no further confusion will ensue.

Mr. Veniot: Is it not a fact that there is a rule that no candidate can retire until after the fourth ballot?

Hon. Mr. Murray: No; he can retire at any time.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: It is very essential that all of you deposit ballot No. 3 in the ballot box because if you use ballot No. 3 on the next vote it will not be counted. The next ballot in your book on which you will vote is ballot No. 4; so see to it that you deposit ballot No. 3 in the ballot box before the scrutineers go out of the hall.

Mr. McKenzie Retires

Mr. D. D. McKenzie: Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank my friends for the support that I have received in this Convention, but I now beg to retire from the field.

A splendid tribute was paid to Mr. McKenzie in recognition of his great public and political services, the delegates rising and cheering him enthusiastically.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: The Chairman announces that when the general secretary reports that the ballot boxes have been emptied and that the scrutineers are ready to take up another vote, the balloting will be proceeded with.

A Delegate: What number of ballot on the next vote?

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Four.

A Delegate: Might I suggest that lots of men have used ballot No. 4 and that it has already been marked for Mr. D. D. McKenzie?

The explanation, just made by Mr. Murphy, was repeated in French by Sir Lomer Gouin.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Although announcements have been made over and over again, it has been suggested that once more the delegates be requested not to mark the next ballot until they are told that the time for balloting has arrived. I beg to repeat that announcement.

Several Delegates: Too late.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: It has been further suggested that the scrutineers will be asked not to take up any further ballots until they are so instructed from the platform.

Mr. Frank S. Cahill, M.P.: I understand there has been a number of No. 4 ballots already marked. I am just mentioning that so that it may be made clear as to what the position is in regard to these ballots.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: If the delegates will refrain from marking their ballots for a few minutes, the confusion will be cleared up. In fact the whole thing will be straightened out if the delegates will do nothing until after the ballot boxes are emptied and instructions are issued from the chair.

A Delegate: But it has been done already.

Hon. Mr. Turgeon: The ballots are marked for Mr. McKenzie.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Wait; the chairman knows that, but the chairman is going to issue instructions that will meet the difficulty.

Mr. Shipway: I would advise that the bugle be sounded again before a vote is taken.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: The scrutineers will be good enough to report to the Chairman that all their boxes have been emptied before any instruction is given for the taking of a new ballot. The scrutineers will see to it that ballots Nos. 3 and 4, if deposited in their boxes, are cleared out. Are the boxes empty?

Several Scrutineers: Yes.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Are the scrutineers at the rear of the hall answering that their boxes are empty?

Several Scrutineers in the Body of the Hall: Yes.

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Please do not do any more marking of ballots; wait until the gentlemen in consultation on the stage reach a decision and wait until that decision is announced. If any delegates still have ballots Nos. 3 and 4, please tear them up.

A Delegate: No. 5?

Hon. Mr. Murphy: Somebody says "No. 5." No. If anybody has ballot No. 3 tear it up, if anybody has ballot No. 4 tear it up and do not do any more writing.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Have you all ballot No. 5 unmarked?

Several Delegates: Yes.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Is there any one delegate with ballot No. 5 marked?

A Delegate: Yes.

Hon. Mr. Murray: With a ballot marked for either one of the two candidates remaining, Mr. Fielding or Mr. King?

A Delegate: Yes.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Let us distinctly understand this. Has everybody ballot No. 5 remaining and capable of being used? Is that the understanding?

A Delegate: No. 10?

Hon. Mr. Murray: No; we will take a new ballot on ballot paper No. 5 for the two candidates.

A Delegate: Mine is marked already.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Do you all understand that? Send somebody down to the middle of the hall and take this megaphone.

Hon. John Oliver (Premier of British Columbia) went through the hall making this announcement:—The next vote is going to be taken on ballot No. 5. Do not mark your ballot until you are told to.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Now, do you understand that two candidates alone remain and that you use ballot paper No. 5?

Several Delegates: Yes.

Hon. Mr. Murray: Everybody understands that?

Several Delegates: Yes.

Sir Lomer Gouin: Messieurs, il reste deux candidats: l'honorable W. S. Fielding et l'honorable W. L. Mackenzie King. M. McKenzie, comme il l'a dit lui-même, s'est retiré. Vous votez pour ces deux candidats, sur le bulletin numéro 5.

The ballots were marked in accordance with these directions, collected by the scrutineers and given to the tellers to be counted.

National Unity.

Hon. Mr. Murray: We have a number of resolutions here, one of which deals with the question of national unity. I will ask Mr. John Boyd of Montreal to move this resolution and Mr. Donald Downie of Vancouver to second it.

Mr. John Boyd (Montreal): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution which I have to propose reads as follows:

> "Recognizing that the crown of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's life work, and the dearest wish of his heart, was the establishment of racial concord and national unity throughout the Dominion, the Liberal party of Canada in National Convention assembled emphatically condemn all attempts to create racial discord and national disunion and would hold up as a lasting example to the Canadian people the inspiring ideal of that great Canadian—a united Canada in which all Canadians shall be on an equal footing, all working together in harmony and concord for the upbuilding and aggrandizement of their common country."

At this stage of the proceedings and under the circumstances, especially the heat, I am not going to occupy the attention of this gathering except for one or two minutes. In a few hours this historic gathering which means so much for Liberalism will have passed into the great events of history. The delegates will go to their respective homes from one end of Canada to the other. What ideal shall they carry with them? What greater ideal could they carry with them than the lesson taught by that great man, who for fifty years preached conciliation, harmony and concord between the great races of this country? I need not tell you, ladies and gentlemen, because you all know it, that his dearest wish was that harmony and concord prevail, but, unfortunately, there have been people in this Dominion—thank God none of them were Liberals—who have for the basest political purposes endeavored to arouse discord. They have endeavored to set race against race and creed against creed, but this great Convention of Liberals from all parts of the Dominion is evidence, I take it, that their work has failed and that French-

Canadians and English-speaking Canadians are as one in their devotion to their common country. Coming from the province of Quebec, I am sure I do not need, before this Convention, to say that the people of that province are loyal to the best interests of Canada. You have seen how the people of Quebec are represented at this Convention and you know, as all others know, that the people of Quebec are essentially Canadians, that they are devoted to Canada, and that, like the rest of us, they are desirous of building up a great and united country. When we go from this hall, let us go forth to our respective homes from the Atlantic to the far away waters of the Pacific, carrying with us in our hearts and minds the ideal of that great man whose memory we reverence, and who will ever remain in Canadian history as one of the greatest men. Let us try to work out his ideal of a united country and when the decisive moment comes, whoever our leader may be, let us rally around him and, with the inspiration that we derive from the life and ideals of the great Chieftain who is gone, let us carry on the fight until Liberalism, freedom and democracy shall be triumphant in Canada.

Mr. Donald Downie (Vancouver): Monsieur le Président, mesdames et messieurs, je vous parle en anglais, puisque, des deux langues qui se parlent ici, la langue barbare de notre race est la seule qui est comprise par tout le monde.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, in seconding this resolution, I have the honor to speak of one big union. That Big Union is the union of Canadians of every race and creed for good government, for Liberalism and for Canada.

In 1917 a great political crime was committed. It shall be told in history, but it shall scarcely be believed that in our English-speaking provinces, and particularly in our far away province on the Pacific coast, there was a propaganda of race hatred carried on which was foreign and repugnant to all those of us who loved our country and had a keen sense of British fair play. We stand here to-day for tolerance and for the defence of that old British principle of liberality and justice which has enabled the British Empire to govern old races of every creed and color, and to civilize new peoples of every kind and clime. We stand here for the unity of Canada, and against the crime of National disintegration and disunion, by which a great political party, in 1917, could find no better way to retain political power for itself than to curse one province, and to try to turn one race against the other.

Consequently, it would be a pity to adjourn this great convention of Canadians without condemning that insincere campaign as it deserves, and affirming as Liberals the elementary proposition of the union of Canadians of every creed, and every tongue and every province. History shall speak of this Convention, and history shall speak of it and history shall judge us here not because of the difficulties we may have encountered, but because of the courage and audacity with which we have met them and overcome them. History shall speak, as they deserve, of the people who set up that cry of race and creed as a means of retaining political power on that occasion, and it shall place them upon a pinnacle of infamy from which posterity shall not easily take them down. The age of bigotry is past; the age of religious dissension is gone; and with Liberalism in the ascendant, the age of goodwill, peace, and a harmonious and united Canada has appeared and fanaticism is extinguished forever. Our land is the birthplace of the entente cordiale. And nothing gives me greater pleasure than to second here to-day this declaratory resolu-

tion in these few words that I have the honor to address you, for in a Liberal Convention such resolution is not controversial. This is a law of French and British rule and tongues, and I have sufficient confidence in the fairness of the two great races from which we spring, that make up this Canada of ours, in the people of the British race and in the people of the French race, from whom we have drawn our languages, and our laws, and the spirit of our free institutions, the two greatest races in the modern world who have led for a thousand years the very vanguard of civilization; I have sufficient confidence in the gallant men of that race that stood at Verdun and the race that conquered at the Marne; as I have sufficient confidence in the spirit of the race which won Trafalgar; I have sufficient confidence in the good sense of that race of Normans and Saxons who, united, have made of the old Britain what she is to-day; and in every worthy French and British son of the soil of this Canada of ours to feel and to know that, in spite of all appeal to prejudice, they are still one and there still lurks in their hearts some spark of that sacred fire that burned in the breasts of the heroes in France who fought and fell there for our freedom, and who left us their fame.

The resolution was adopted.

Natural Resources

Hon. Mr. Murray: There is another resolution of some considerable importance, declaring that the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta should be granted the ownership and control of the natural resources within their boundaries. I will ask the Hon. Mr. Stewart, Premier of Alberta, to move this resolution and the Hon. Mr. Martin, Premier of Saskatchewan, to second it.

Hon. Mr. Stewart (Alberta): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to move:

> "Resolved that the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta should be granted the ownership and control of the natural resources within their respective boundaries on terms that are fair and equitable with reference to all other Provinces of the Dominion."

This is a matter in regard to which we have consulted with the Premiers, and, as you are well aware, we have had several conferences with the Union Government, and with the preceding Conservative Government, in regard to it. It is a matter of great importance to three western prairie provinces. They are the only three provinces in Canada which have not secured their natural resources and, as you very well know, they were promised, most emphatically, without any reservation, in the campaign of 1911, by Sir Robert Borden when he was touring western Canada. Since that time we have been pressing unceasingly for the settlement of this vexed question. We have had interviews with the Government, we have had the premiers of the various provinces of Canada called together and there has been no objection, and there have been no two opinions expressed as to the right of the three western provinces to the control of their natural resources. But there has been an objection taken by some of the other provinces of Canada that when this question is being settled to the satisfaction of the western provinces, they should be taken into consideration. This point of view has been embodied in this resolution and we want the support of this great Liberal Convention in our contention that we should be given our natural resources and that these other provinces should be given consideration at

the same time. I do not wish to detain you any longer; I simply put the resolution before you. It is one in which we are greatly interested and we would like to have this great Convention pass upon it. I have great pleasure in moving the resolution.

HON. W. M. MARTIN (Premier and Minister of Education, Saskatchewan): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I desire to second the resolution which has been so well proposed by my good friend, Mr. Stewart of the province of Alberta. Before I do so I desire to express my appreciation of the splendid gathering we have in the city of Ottawa at the present time. It speaks worlds for the united spirit of Liberalism from one end of Canada to the other and I have no doubt that with the splendid progressive platform which has been laid down in the different resolutions which have been adopted, when the present Government see fit to go to the country they will be put out of office by a substantial majority. In fact, I do not believe we need very much of a platform to put the present Government out of office. If we let them run along for a year or two, they will make a platform for us and the people of Canada will take care of them.

I do not want to take up very much of the time of the Convention, speaking about the question which has been so well presented by my friend, Mr. Stewart. The question of the natural resources of the western provinces has been one that has excited a good deal of interest and caused a good deal of contention in those provinces. You all remember the autonomy terms under which we were given certain subsidies in lieu of our natural resources. At that time we had a different position in the western provinces of Canada on account of the fact that we were new provinces, that we were only beginning provincial government and it was better then to take cash subsidies than the natural resources. It gave us money to carry on our business, and perhaps for the time being we could not have got any money out of our natural resources. But now we have come to the conclusion that we should be placed upon the same basis as the other provinces of Canada. The agreement of Confederation was not supposed, in my view, to be an agreement made between the provinces and between Canada and the provinces for all time to come. We must meet together as provinces, we must co-operate from time to time and, in my view, there must be a readjustment of the relations existing between the various provinces and the relations existing between the Dominion and the various provinces. From year to year our natural resources have been alienated. We take the view that these natural resources have been alienated for the general advantage of Canada. Millions and millions of acres of western land have been given to build railways not only through the prairie provinces, but, in some cases, in Northern Ontario and in British Columbia. I do not desire to discuss that particular phase of the question to-day. The resolution asks you to endorse the proposition that the time has arrived when the western provinces should be granted the ownership and control of the natural resources within their boundaries on conditions that are fair and equitable in relation to the other provinces of the Dominion.

I have very much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

SIR LOMER GOUIN: The motion has been very clearly explained in English and I would ask your permission to say a few words in French because the province of Quebec is very much interested in the question.

At the conclusion of Sir Lomer Gouin's remarks in French the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolution of Thanks

Hon. Mr. Stewart (Acting Chairman): It is moved by Mr. McKenzie seconded by Mr. Lemieux:

> "That the thanks of this National Liberal Convention be, and they are hereby tendered, to Mr. Andrew Haydon for the inestimable services which he has rendered the Liberal Party of Canada in gratuitously discharging the duties of general secretary during months of arduous work; to the members of the Committee associated with him in arranging the preparatory work of the Convention; to the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Ottawa for the free use of the buildings in which the meetings of the Convention, and of its several Committees, have been held; to the Honourable the Minister of Militia and Defence and the officials of the Departments of Militia and Defence, Public Works and the Canadian Exhibition Office, for their kindness in providing many of the facilities enjoyed by the delegates attending the Convention; to the Speaker and Officers of the House of Commons for courtesies extended by them; and to all others who in various ways, too numerous to specify, have assisted in making the Convention an unexampled success."

I understand that Mr. McKenzie is not present. Is it your pleasure that this resolution be carried?

The resolution was adopted.

Appreciation of Services of Hon. Charles Murphy and Assistant Secretaries

Hon. Mr. Murray moved:

> "That this Convention places on record its high appreciation of the indefatigable efforts and untiring energy of the Hon. Charles Murphy, Chairman of the Local Committee of Arrangements, in splendidly planning and carrying out the executive work of the greatest, most successful, and most truly representative political convention ever held in Canada.
>
> "And this Convention further desires to express its appreciation of the assistance given by Mr. Duncan C. Ross and Mr. Lucien Pacaud in the discharge of their onerous duties as assistant secretaries."

I think that mere language would only spoil the demonstration with which the reading of this resolution has been received by those present at the Convention. I have much pleasure in asking that the resolution be adopted.

Sir Lomer Gouin: I have much pleasure in seconding the motion of my colleague, Hon. Mr. Murray. This Convention has been organized in a marvellous way; it could not be improved upon. We sometimes speak of the organizers of victory. If you want a living example you have one in the person of Hon. Charles Murphy.

The resolution was adopted amid enthusiastic applause.

Hon. Mr. Murphy addressed the delegates in French and then spoke in English as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I desire to express in very few words my sincere thanks for the motion which you have so unanimously and so enthusiastically carried. The work of preparation for this Convention has left me totally unprepared to make a speech. This, however, I may say: that with me, and with those who are associated with me,

the work of preparing for this Convention was a labour of love. We desired in the first place to do honour to the memory of the Great Chieftain whom we had so loyally and so constantly followed. We desired, in the second place, to bring before the people of this country the principles of Liberalism and in doing so to demonstrate the active qualities and the latent potentialities of the great Liberal party, in the bosom of which I was reared and in the bosom of which I hope to die.

A DELEGATE: You are not dead yet.

HON. MR. MURPHY: A friend to my right says that I am not dead yet—I will admit that.

In the next place, we desired to refute the prophets of evil omen who declared that it was impossible for the members of the Liberal party to get together. This great Convention is the answer to that prophecy.

A telegram was received here on the first morning of the Convention—if you will pardon me for mentioning a lady's name, it was from Miss Carmichael, a delegate from Pictou, Nova Scotia—and in that telegram she expressed the hope that the spirit of Sir Wilfrid Laurier might hover over the deliberations of this gathering. The spirit of Sir Wilfrid has hovered over the deliberations of this gathering, because this gathering has been true to Liberalism, and, therefore, true to Sir Wilfrid.

In addition to that, the deliberations of this Convention have been conducted in the spirit that was displayed by our soldiers who went overseas and who have come back to Canada. They left our Canadian shores, crossed the ocean, and in the shock of battle overseas measured themselves with, and against, men of other nationalities; and in many cases they were not only the equals, but very often the superiors of men of other races. By reason of that experience there was born in them a new spirit of nationality. They realized, as they had never realized before, that Canada had a soul and an individuality of its own; and so they have come back to us better Canadians than they were when they went away. Whether they went away Grit or Tory, Protestant or Catholic, they have come back forgetful of those distinctions and determined only that the public affairs of this country shall be carried out by Canadians in a manner befitting Canada, as the greatest of the British overseas Dominions.

That is the spirit in which the deliberations of this gathering have been carried out; that is the spirit which the men and women who composed this gathering will carry back to their homes, and that is the spirit in which I, as one member of the parliamentary group, representing the Liberal party in the House of Commons, promise you that the conclusions reached by this Convention will be carried out and given effect to on the floor of Parliament. (*Applause.*)

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESS

MR. L. J. GAUTHIER, M.P. (St. Hyacinthe) moved, seconded by A. B. McCoig, M.P. (Kent, Ont.):

> "That a cordial vote of thanks be accorded the representatives of the Press for their excellent reports of the proceedings of this Convention."

The resolution was adopted with three cheers for the Press.

THE LADIES

HON. MR. STEWART: It is customary, at banquets and affairs of this kind, to pass a vote of thanks to the ladies. But the ladies are now on

an equality with the men, and, therefore, must go home with the same sort of thanks that the men get who have attended here. I hope to see the day when the Liberal party will send a dozen or two ladies to Ottawa, in Parliament, as is the case in some of the provinces.

HON. WALTER SCOTT, ex-Premier of Saskatchewan, was called upon at this stage by Hon. Mr. Stewart, but was found to be not in the hall.

HON. MR. MURPHY: Hon. Geo. P. Smith, of Alberta, will now address you:

HON. GEO. P. SMITH (Minister of Education of Alberta): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, this is rather a late hour to attempt to make a speech; besides, I have listened to so many good things that I do not think there is much left to be said that has not already been said, and said well.

We are sometimes told in the West that there is no difference between the two parties, and that has seemed to me to be a rather dangerous kind of campaign which has been carried on during the last few years. There is no difference, they say, between the Liberals and the Conservatives in Canada. We all know that in every country of the world, ever since the time when kings ruled by divine right, there has been a very great difference between Conservatism and Liberalism. I would like for a moment, if you will bear with me, to refer to conditions as they existed here in 1896. The conditions at that time and the conditions to-day were not unlike. We were confronted at that time with huge expenditures and shrinking revenues; we were confronted by stagnation in trade, in immigration—stagnation all along the line. We were confronted with very great racial and religious differences in Canada. We had a very dangerous situation to face at that time in the Manitoba school question, and upon that question the fight in 1896 was very largely waged.

The Liberal party, under our late lamented leader, won that fight; the friends of Conservatism were absolutely unable to grapple with the situation, and Liberalism came into its own and showed them the way to solve a good many difficulties.

There are some things that you can never get into the Tory mind; to Toryism some things are impossible of understanding; and one thing they could not understand was how you could reduce taxation in this country and, at the same time, increase the revenue.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to go any further, because it is evident that the officials are returning with the latest information with regard to the vote for leader, and that is more important than anything I could say at this stage. May I say just this: no matter what leader is selected by this great Convention, if Liberalism from ocean to ocean will get behind the man who is elected, the personality of the man will not mean so much as the platform which has been adopted in the last few days by this Convention. We can win with either of the present candidates for the leadership, so long as we are united from ocean to ocean in support of the great platform that has been laid down by those who have deliberated here during the last few days. I shall say no more, except this: whoever is the leader of the Liberal party will be Prime Minister of Canada in a very short time. (*Applause.*)

RESULT OF THIRD VOTE FOR LEADER

At this point the tellers returned after having counted the votes cast on the third ballot, for the two remaining candidates, Hon. W. S. Fielding, and Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King.

Hon. Mr. Stewart: The following is the third report of the General Secretary:

"I hereby certify that a total of 914 votes has been cast on the third ballot, and under the rules Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King has received a majority of the total ballots cast, and I hereby declare Mr. King elected by this Convention.

"The vote for Mr. Fielding was 438 and for Mr. King 476."

(*Prolonged cheers and applause.*)

Hon. Mr. Fielding: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, if the motion be in order, I have great pleasure in moving that this Convention unanimously confirm the report that has just been received, and offer its congratulations to Mr. King on the triumph that he has won. A few moments ago, in talking with a friend nearby, while the balloting was in progress, I said with all sincerity that I was not sure whether I would like to win or lose. To win was a triumph of which any man might be proud, for to be the choice of this great Liberal Convention is an honour that any man may well take to himself, which he and his family for generations may remember. To win was great; to lose, well to me it was to be relieved of great burdens and great responsibilities, perhaps I am just as well free from.

In all heartiness and sincerity, having spent years of association with my friend, Mr. King, I join in these congratulations. If there was anything unpleasant to me in this matter, it was that I had to engage in what seemed to be a contest with old colleagues and old friends, with Mr. King, who was my colleague for years; with Mr. Graham, who was my colleague for years; with my friend, D. D. McKenzie, who was my loyal supporter during my whole political career. It was a misfortune, and I disliked it for a while, to seem to be in competition with them. However, all is well that ends well. We have had a splendid convention, a great union of the Liberal party; we have given evidence that we can put aside differences and get together.

I offer my hearty congratulations to my old friend, Mr. King, and I ask that the nomination be confirmed unanimously.

(*Prolonged cheers and applause.*)

Hon. George P. Graham: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I take great pleasure in seconding the motion of my friend, Hon. W. S. Fielding. This is the first time, in my knowledge, that the people themselves have gathered in this way in Canada to select a leader.

You have selected a young man, an able young man; and the object of every Liberal, man, woman, and child, should be to get behind him and put out the Borden Government. (*Applause.*)

We have had a wonderful Convention; we have had great unanimity; we have preached against bigotry—bigotry must be put down. Now, in the last moment of our Convention, we are going to have absolute unity, and I offer my sincere congratulations to my young ex-colleague, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

(*Loud cheers.*)

The delegates called upon Mr. D. D. McKenzie, who was received with cheers and applause.

Mr. D. D. McKenzie: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I was afraid that it might be regarded as unkind of me not to have stepped forward to second the motion of Hon. Mr. Fielding, but as Mr. Graham has done it so well, and as it is usual to have only one mover and a seconder, I did not think it necessary that I should step forward. I am

of a retiring disposition—somewhat bashful. I can assure you, however, that it affords me the greatest possible pleasure to stand here and second this motion, making the choice of Leader of the great Liberal party unanimous.

I am sure, leaving myself out of the running, that amongst those who have offered themselves as candidates for the leadership it would be hard to distinguish which is the most notable gentleman. But it was for you to make a choice, and I assume that it was a difficult task. As between Hon. Mr. Fielding and Hon. Mr. King it would be something like the kind-hearted Irishman who had a couple of ladies whom he used to go to see, and of whom he said:

"How happy could I be with either
Were t'other dear charmer away."

Let me thank the members of the House of Commons—this will be my last opportunity of doing it in a public way—for the kindness that they have shown to me during the short time that I acted as their leader. I hope that they will have nothing to apologize for to the people of the country in respect of our conduct during that period. I hope, Sir, that the day is not far distant when we shall change the title of Mr. King from leader of the Opposition to Prime Minister of this great Dominion. Let me congratulate Mr. King upon his great victory.

(*Cheers and applause.*)

HON. MR. KING, the newly-elected leader, was called upon by many delegates to address the Convention, and was received with enthusiastic applause.

HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Leader of the Liberal Party): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

A DELEGATE: Long live the King.

HON. MR. KING: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure you will all appreciate the feelings I experience in attempting to thank you for this, the greatest honor that can come to any man. You will not wonder that I find it difficult to summon words wherewith to express my gratitude, for truly, at this moment I am more conscious of the vastness of the responsibility, and of the far-reaching obligations which have come so suddenly upon one so inexperienced, than of the great honor you have conferred. But if the words were necessary, or if words sufficient could be found wherewith to convey thanks for your confidence, they would, in the circumstances, be inadequate to express what I feel concerning the further confidence manifested by my friends and former colleagues in the Cabinet of our dearly beloved chief, Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

I cannot express too sincerely to Mr. Fielding my thanks for the noble-spirited way in which he has been the first to say he is ready to come to my side with his exceptional experience and his great personality, in helping to forward the cause in which we are all so splendidly united. I find it equally difficult to express the same thanks to Mr. George Graham, also my friend and former colleague, who was quick to be at the side of Mr. Fielding with the assurance that his strength and personality might be counted upon in the fight we shall make to cause to prevail the many splendid principles and policies which have been laid down in the platform of our party. To my friend, Mr. McKenzie, too, with whom I had the honor to sit in the House of Commons some time ago, and with whom, I hope, I shall in the near future have the same privilege, I am unable to express the thanks I feel for his offering, in the same hearty way, to lend in the cause his large experience,

an experience gained not only as a parliamentarian of long standing, but as the leader of the party at a most critical time in its history.

I am sure you will permit me to express a word of special thanks to the gentlemen who moved and seconded my nomination. We all are more or less creatures of association and sentiment; and to me it has been a special pleasure that the expression of great confidence which has come from this gathering should have found its beginning in the nomination by Sir Allen Aylesworth, one who is not only a friend, a warm personal friend and former colleague, but one who was a lifelong friend of my father and mother as well. I may say the same of Mr. Fisher, who has long been a true friend of mine, and was also a friend of theirs. These thoughts add to the happiness of this moment, and I express to these gentlemen my grateful thanks for the mark of great confidence in the willingness to associate their distinguished and worthy names with the nomination they placed before the Convention.

I might go on, ladies and gentlemen, and mention others to whom I am far too much indebted to be able ever adequately to express what I feel, but you have been here now for three days, and you do not desire to listen to a lengthy speech on this occasion. I cannot, however, forget one thing of which I should like to make some mention, and that is the association which, through Sir Allen Aylesworth, my nomination has with a riding to which I have the privilege of being attached in a way that is endearing, and which I trust may prove enduring, and which runs back not a little in the history of our country.

Sir Allen, as you know, when in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cabinet, was member for North York. Before Sir Allen, Sir William Mulock, also a member of Sir Wilfrid's cabinet, a stalwart Liberal, and as true a friend as ever lived, was member for the same constituency. The Liberals of North York, who honored these men, did me the honor of tendering me their nomination at the last election. There we fought together the same old battles for the control of Parliament by the people, and of the Executive by Parliament, which our forefathers had fought years ago, and which helped to establish the foundations of the Liberal party in this country.

I cannot forget—and I hope you will permit me to mention it on this occasion—that my grandfather, on four or five different occasions, was chosen as their representative by the electors of North York in the days of the early struggles for responsible government in Canada, when he, in Ontario, and Papineau, in Lower Canada, was seeking to bring about that change in the relations of the Executive to Parliament which would subject the Executive to the will of the people as expressed through their representatives. I remember, too, that it was the riding of North York, which, when Mr. Lafontaine was without a seat for a short time in Quebec, invited him to Ontario, to the constituency of North York, which he represented for a time—a courtesy which only a little while before had been extended by Quebec to Robert Baldwin, another great Liberal of those days, who, when unable to find a seat in Ontario, was invited to take a seat in the Province of Quebec.

Ladies and gentlemen, I hope that in making mention of these things, which are a part of the traditions of our party, and also a part of the history of our country, I utter words that are prophetic of that greater unity which is to prevail between the sister provinces of Quebec and Ontario—indeed, between all the provinces of this Dominion.

But I should fail to convey to your mind what I recognize most of all in the great honor you have conferred, did I not say that, first and foremost, and above all else, I recognize in it a tribute to the memory of our great leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. His confidence was shown when he invited me, as a very young man, into his Government. It was my great privilege to be associated with Sir Wilfrid from that time to the end. I am justly proud of the training which I had through association with him. If there is one thing above another which I have reason to be grateful for at this time, it is that it fell to my lot, early in life, to gain a knowledge of political precepts, political methods and political ideals from one who possessed the great, the noble, and the lofty character which was his.

I am sure I will be carrying out your wish, if I seek, to the utmost of my ability, to maintain the principles which Sir Wilfrid Laurier sought to make prevail throughout this vast Dominion, and which, I believe, may be summarized in the single maxim of an illustrious English statesman, Pym, when he said: "That form of government is best which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of the state to the common good."

Such was the form of Government which Sir Wilfrid Laurier ever sought to make prevail throughout this Dominion, a government which would unite race and race, creed and creed, class and class, country and country, within the Empire, and nation and nation within a League of Nations, so that, expanding the spirit that helps to unite a family in the first instance, we might achieve at last that larger spirit of good-will which, given its chance, would unite as one the nations of the world.

I have only this further word to say in conclusion. I should be unworthy of any measure of the confidence you have so abundantly bestowed were I not fully conscious of my own lack of parliamentary experience, my own lack of training in public life, my own limitations in a thousand and one directions adequately to meet the obligations of this great duty, this great honor, which you have conferred. I should despair altogether of being able even to attempt to discharge its obligations were it not that I know that one who is called upon to accept the office of leadership must first and foremost be the willing servant of all, and that in seeking in the spirit of service to meet the wishes of those who have chosen him as their leader, he may look for guidance and counsel to the great forces assembled about him. If I lack confidence in any ability I may have, I have only to look around at this gathering, I have only to look into the faces of you, ladies and gentlemen, assembled before me in this audience, to see what a wealth of wisdom and counsel I am assured of—wisdom and counsel of the highest order—in seeking to carry out the duties which devolve upon this office.

So, ladies and gentlemen, while I must ask you to make all the allowance you can for one who is so inexperienced in public affairs, I hope you will nevertheless feel that in seeking to do the work of the Liberal party in the way I believe the Liberal party would wish it to be done, I shall rely upon the counsel of those who are outstanding in the ranks of the party, the Liberal members of the Senate, the Liberals in the House of Commons, the leaders of the party in the several provinces, the representative men who are gathered together here; and that in this way I shall find a compass which will point the direction that ought to be taken, and will point it aright.

If more is needed, that more is to be found in the platform which has been laid down by this Convention. That platform, ladies and gentlemen, is the chart on which is plotted the course desired by the people of the country, as expressed through the voice of the Liberals assembled here. So with this chart and this compass, forgetting the things which are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are before, let us press on from this moment, a great, a united, a mighty force, making ever for new liberty, for wider freedom, for greater righteousness in the public affairs of this nation; press on, ever more zealous and united, till we have reached the goal where the principles and policies laid down on this historic occasion will have become, through legislation, part of the law of our land.

Again I thank you.

(*Applause.*)

The Convention closed at 8 p.m. with the singing of "God Save the King."

LIST OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

Resolution on the Death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier

Sadly and mournfully the members of this National Convention of the Liberal Party of Canada record their sense of the irreparable loss the country has suffered in the death of the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

During more than forty-five years he was continuously prominent as a member of the Canadian Parliament. For nearly thirty-two years he was the honoured Chief and Leader of the Liberal Party in this country. He has long been recognized as Canada's most distinguished statesman and as an outstanding figure among the Councillors of His Majesty everywhere in the British Empire. His lifetime was spent in the service of his country and his King. History will justly accord to him a high position among the great men of the world.

Through all his life his chief aim and object was to bring into better accord and greater harmony with each other the two principal races of this country that all might become more truly Canadians, whether of French or of British descent. The great wish and hope with which to the end his soul was filled was that we—his followers and his friends—might carry on his life work in that regard, bringing it even in our time to still greater fruition till in Canada dissensions of either race or creed no longer should be known.

Pure of heart, unsullied in character, devoted always to the highest ideals—he led, as he governed, wisely and well. Great in success, he was perhaps even greater in adversity. Himself sprung from common people, it was throughout his life his pride and glory to stand at all times their advocate and champion.

In their grateful memories he has builded for himself a monument which will live while Canada endures, for he found this country a colony—he made it a nation.

In the hearts of his sorrowing friends—in the hearts indeed of all his countrymen—his life inspired not merely high regard and unfeigned esteem but as well a real affection, which makes our grief at his loss so heartfelt and so keen that no words we may use could equal it.

He was, indeed, our country's best and greatest. In all things a "chevalier sans peur et sans reproche."

Resolution on Canadian Autonomy

Resolved that we are strongly opposed to centralized Imperial control and that no organic change in the Canadian Constitution in regard to the relation of Canada to the Empire ought to come into effect until, after being passed by Parliament, it has been ratified by vote of the Canadian people on a Referendum.

Resolution Condemning the Government for Non-Enforcement of Income Tax Law

This Convention condemns the Government because it has not enforced the Income Tax Law in such a manner as to make it produce the revenue which such a tax should produce if properly collected.

Report of the Committee on Party Organization Adopted as a Resolution

The Committee on party organization beg to report as follows:—

We recommend the formation of a National Liberal Organization Committee to be constituted as follows:

1. The President, who shall be the Leader of the Liberal Party for Canada;
2. Nine Vice-Presidents, one from each Province, who shall be named by the Liberal Association of each Province. In the case of any Province in which there is no Provincial Liberal Association, the Liberal Premier or Leader of the Opposition shall nominate the Vice-President.
3. A National Council of fifty-four, one of whom shall be the Provincial Liberal Premier or Leader of the Opposition, or his Nominee, as the case may be, and five others to be selected by the Liberal Association for the Province, where one exists, or by the Liberal Members of the House of Commons in a Province where there is no Liberal Association for such Province.
4. The Members of the Council in each Province to be a Finance Committee to receive subscriptions for the expenses of the Committee.
5. The Committee shall select a National Organizer, who shall have charge of the Head Office, which shall be located in Ottawa.

Resolution on Loyalty to the King and Gratitude to the Canadian Army

This Convention desires to place on record its devotion to the person and office of His Gracious Majesty King George the Fifth and its appreciation of his untiring efforts during the war in promoting harmony throughout his Dominions, and also its unalterable attachment to the British Empire and to our own beloved Canada.

And this Convention further desires to place on record its gratitude to the valiant Canadian Army for its splendid share in the great victory which has brought the blessings of peace to the world. In the desperate struggle between the forces of autocracy and democracy our gallant soldiers have covered themselves with glory by their courage and devotion to duty and have earned the undying gratitude of all Canadians and made the name of Canada an inspiration for future generations.

Resolution on Conservation and Improvement of Physical Standards of Canadians

Whereas the Great War and the greater epidemic have taken an appalling toll of Canadian life; and

Whereas human life and physical efficiency are the nation's greatest assets; and

Whereas the conservation and improvement thereof should be the country's first care:

Therefore this gathering of Liberals in convention assembled pledges itself to a vigorous prosecution of the measures best calculated to conserve the life and improve the physical standard of our Canadian citizenship.

Resolution on the Tariff

That the best interests of Canada demand that substantial reductions of the burdens of Customs taxation be made with a view to the accomplishing of two purposes of the highest importance: *First:* diminishing the very high cost of living which presses so severely on the masses of the people; *Second:* reducing the cost of the instruments of production in the industries based on the natural resources of the Dominon, the vigorous development of which is essential to the progress and prosperity of our country.

That, to these ends, wheat, wheat flour and all products of wheat; the principal articles of food; farm implements and machinery; farm tractors, mining, flour and saw-mill machinery and repair parts thereof; rough and partly dressed lumber; gasoline, illuminating, lubricating and fuel oils; nets, net-twines and fishermen's equipments; cement and fertilizers, should be free from Customs duties, as well as the raw material entering into the same.

That a revision downwards of the tariff should be made whereby substantial reductions should be effected in the duties on wearing apparel and footwear, and on other articles of general consumption (other than luxuries), as well as on the raw material entering into the manufacture of the same.

That the British preference be increased to 50 per cent of the general tariff.

And the Liberal Party hereby pledges itself to implement by legislation the provision of this resolution when returned to power.

Resolution on Labor and Industry

Resolved that the Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention accept in their entirety as a part of the Liberal Platform, in the spirit they have been framed and in so far as the special circumstances of the country will permit, the terms of the Labour Convention and General Principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporation in the Conditions of Peace.

These methods and principles for regulating labour conditions so set forth in the Treaty are as follows:

First—The guiding principle that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth—The adoption of an 8-hour day or a 48-hour week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth—The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth—The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth—The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth—Each state should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

And Further Resolved

1. That the introduction into the government of industry or principles of representation whereby labour and the community, as well as capital, may be represented in industrial control, and their interests safeguarded and promoted in the shaping of industrial policies.
2. That in so far as may be practicable, having regard for Canada's financial position, an adequate system of insurance against unemployment, sickness, dependence in old age, and other disability, which would include old age pensions, widows' pensions, and maternity benefits, should be instituted by the Federal Government in conjunction with the Governments of the several provinces; and that on matters pertaining to industrial and social legislation an effort should be made to overcome any question of jurisdiction between the Dominion and the provinces by effective co-operation between the several Governments.
3. The representation of labour on federal commissions pertaining to labour matters.
4. Effective legislation for the conservation of human life and health.
5. The representation of labour on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways.
6. That the system of re-training soldiers, unfitted for their past work because of physical injuries, be extended to disabled workers in industry.
7. More effective restriction of Chinese immigration.
8. The federal incorporation of co-operative associations.
9. The acceptance of the principle of proportional representation.
10. Immediate and drastic action by the Government with respect to the high cost of living and profiteering.
11. Restoration of the control of the executive by Parliament, and of Parliament, by the people through a discontinuance of Government by Order in Council and a just franchise and its exercise under free conditions.

Resolution on Encouragement to Agriculture

In the interest of agricultural production and development it is expedient to encourage co-operation and induce greater investment in farming,; therefore, it is deemed expedient to utilize the national credit to assist co-operative Agricultural Credit Associations to provide capital for agriculture at the lowest possible rates.

With the object of reducing the high cost of living by eliminating, as far as possible, the waste and expense in handling food products between the producer and consumer, it is expedient to extend the principle and system of Canadian Government Elevators and to provide interior and terminal cold storage warehouses equipped for the assembling assorting, preparing, storing and grading of food products in order that co-operative organizations and others may have available to them reliable, modern equipment, for the distribution of farm products in superior condition and at lessened cost either for domestic consumption or for export. And that cold storage transportation facilities should be provided, at the cost of operation, for the shipment of food products throughout Canada and for the carrying to the markets of the world the surplus farm products of this country and delivering them in such condition that will make Canadian foodstuffs a standard of quality for the world's market.

That in the interests of agriculture, in aid of greater production on the land, and for the conservation of the soil in Canada, it is expedient for the Government to arrange for the distribution of fertilizers at the lowest possible cost.

Your Committee on Agriculture begs to recommend that a Special Committee be appointed to prepare a resolution upon the banking system of Canada and the adapting of said system to satisfactory loans in connection with land and live stock, and to present such resolution to your Committee.

Resolution on Reciprocity

That the Reciprocity Agreement negotiated with the United States by the Liberal Government of Canada, in 1911, was a measure which realized the hopes that had been entertained and efforts made for better trade relations between Canada and the neighbouring Republic, by the statesmen of both political parties in the Dominion, from the beginning of the Dominion's history.

That the Agreement was fair and just to both countries and well calculated to promote the good relations so desirable;

That the action of the Conservative party under the leadership of Mr. (now Sir) Robert Borden in opposing and defeating the Agreement was a sacrifice of the best interests of Canada for distinctly partisan ends.

That the insincerity of the movement of the Conservative leaders on that question has been abundantly evidenced by the fact that, after coming into office, they proceeded to make some of the very tariff changes, a denunciation of which was their chief ground in the elections of 1911.

That the action of the Conservative leaders in preventing the consummation of so excellent an arrangement between the two countries deserves and should still receive, whenever the opportunity occurs, the severe condemnation of the Canadian people.

That the Reciprocity Agreement was approved in 1911 by the Congress of the United States, and the law giving such approval still remains on the American statute book.

That, if the proposal lately made in the Congress to repeal the said law be carried out, the people of Canada will have no cause to complain, since the Americans have kept the law unimpaired for the long term of eight years during which Canada has made no move to avail herself of its provisions.

That while, for these reasons, this Convention can take no exception to the proposal so made at Washington, we as Liberals again place on record our appreciation of the object of the said Agreement and our faith in the principles of friendly international relations underlying it, and we express our earnest hope that in both countries such principles will be upheld, and that a favourable moment may come when there will be a renewed manifestation by the two Governments of a desire to make some similar arrangement.

Resolution on Financial Condition and Taxation

Whereas the national safety demands that the serious financial position of the country should be known and appreciated in order that steps may be taken to cope with the same; and

Whereas on the 31st March last, according to the statement of the Minister of Finance, the net public debt was $1,584,000,000, or, roughly, $220 for every man, woman and child in the Dominion, involving an annual interest charge of about $115,000,000, and thus imposing an annual burden for interest on debt alone of $15 per head of the population; and

Whereas the estimated expenditure of the Dominion Government for the present fiscal year is over $800,000,000, or roughly, $100 per head of the population; and

Whereas the estimated revenue is only $280,000,000, thus creating an estimated deficit of over $500,000,000—a sum equivalent to $62.50 per head of the population—which sum the Finance Minister proposes to obtain by borrowing; and

Whereas national disaster will overtake this country should the present method of financing the country's affairs be continued; and

Whereas both Great Britain and the United States at present raise more than 80 per cent of their revenue by direct taxation, while Canada raises not more than 20 per cent;

Be it and it is Hereby Resolved:

1. That the serious nature of the country's financial situation calls for the profoundest consideration of all patriotic citizens, and the exercise of the severest economy by the Government;
2. That increase of revenue must be sought from an equitable and effective imposition and collection of graduated taxes, on business profits and income, applicable to all incomes above reasonable exemptions;
3. Taxes on Luxuries.

Resolution Respecting Election Frauds

Whereas it has been openly charged that there was a conspiracy to carry out an elaborate system of frauds in connection with the Military Voters' part of the War Times Election Act, for the purpose of overcoming the voice of the honest electorate of the Dominion, involving the voting of unqualified persons, double voting, persona-

tion, ballot stuffing, and the illegal switching or transferring of tens of thousands of votes to constituencies other than those in which the military electors were known to be entitled to vote;

AND WHEREAS it has been openly charged that these frauds would have been impossible without large numbers of the appointees of the Crown deliberately co-operating and committing perjury;

AND WHEREAS it has been openly charged that these colossal frauds were perpetrated under the direction and connivance of Cabinet Ministers, military officers and civilian officials holding influential and responsible positions;

AND WHEREAS it has been alleged that persons were officially known to be immediately implicated in the direction and control of these frauds, and were subsequently recommended by the Prime Minister for Imperial honours at the hands of His Majesty the King;

THEREFORE this Convention hereby demands the appointment of an impartial Royal Commission with unlimited power and authority to institute a full and exhaustive enquiry into the conduct of every phase of the illegal and other fraudulent practices in connection with the elections held under the aforesaid Military Voters' Act, and this Convention also demands the punishment of every person, military or civilian, who may be proved to have been implicated in the before mentioned election frauds.

RESOLUTION ON SOLDIERS' CIVIL RE-ESTABLISHMENT

1. WHEREAS it is considered that the guiding principle for a permanent settlement of the problem of Civil Re-Establishment should be equitable treatment to soldiers in all avocations having regard to the length and nature of service;

RESOLVED that this Convention declares that the adoption of a system of cash grants to the soldiers and dependents of those who have fallen is the most satisfactory and effective means of civil re-establishment—such grants to be in addition to the present gratuity and to any pension for disability resulting from service.

FURTHER RESOLVED THAT THIS CONVENTION FURTHER CONSIDERS:

2. That the whole matter of the education of the returned soldier be placed in the hands of competent educational authorities to provide for the co-ordination, improvement and extension of a system of educational training, both vocational and general.
3. Insurance.—That provision should be made whereby any increased cost of insurance in favour of the dependents of the soldier should be borne by the state where such increase arises from disability incurred during the war.
4. Pensions.—(*a*) That such pensions or allowances be granted as shall enable soldiers or their dependents as the case may be to maintain a liberal standard of living sufficient to guarantee health, education, and all the necessities, comforts and amenities which go to make up a standard of living worthy of Canadian citizenship.
   (*b*) That soldiers permanently disabled should be trained for some useful occupation selected by themselves and for which they are fitted or can be fitted for such length of time as shall render them efficient in same and after being trained so should be assisted by the Government in obtaining employment at a rate of remuneration adequate to the services rendered in such employment.
   (*c*) That from the moment of discharge and until said training is completed and such employment found, the soldiers permanently partially disabled as aforesaid and their dependents should receive pensions or allowances amply sufficient to enable them to maintain the liberal standard of living as aforesaid, and when employment has been found for said soldiers upon the completion of their training, if the remuneration received in such employment is not sufficient to maintain such standard of living, the Government should provide the deficiency.
   (*d*) That soldiers who have returned or shall hereafter return partially or totally temporarily disabled and their dependents should receive during the period of such disability pensions or allowances amply sufficient to enable them to maintain a liberal standard of living as aforesaid.
5. Medical Examination.—That steps should be taken to secure uniformity in medical decisions as to disabilities by establishing permanent travelling medical appeal boards.
6. That more effective employment agencies should be created and the divergent efforts of the various organizations now in existence should be co-ordinated in a central authority.
7. That reference to soldiers in this resolution is intended to include as well sailors aviators, and nurses whenever applicable, and Canadian soldiers serving with any of the Imperial or Allied armies so far as the benefits hereunder have not been provided for by the Imperial or Allied Governments.

Resolution on Railways and Development of Natural Resources

Whereas the construction of the National Transcontinental Railway wholly upon Canadian soil, including terminal facilities, and in the completion of the project steamship connection with Europe and the Far East, thus affording the best possible transportation between the Orient and the Mother Country and opening up a large portion of Canada not before developed, and providing for lowering of the freight rates, was undertaken by the Liberal Government and Parliament of Canada; and

Whereas the accomplishment of the purpose for which this transportation system was designed has been thwarted by the studied hostility of the Borden Administration, this Convention expresses its opinion that only by the defeat of the present Government can the beneficial results which should accrue from the construction of this great national transcontinental route be secured; and

Whereas the Government by its policy in dealing with the Canadian Northern Railway system, which, in addition to granting of subsidies and guaranteeing of bonds, also made large loans of the public monies and thus involved the Dominion of Canada in financial obligations which resulted in the Government assuming the ownership of the said system; and

Whereas in addition to assuming the enormous liabilities incurred by the purchase of the Canadian Northern Railway system the Borden Government forced through Parliament in contravention of legislation already on the statute book an Act under which $10,000,000 was paid to C. N. R. interests, the identity of whom has never been disclosed, this Convention condemns with all possible vigour this entire unbusinesslike transaction and demands full investigation into the conditions surrounding the purchase of the C. N. R. and the destination of the monies paid.

The Government now owns and operates some 16,000 miles of railway. We believe that the present system of management by a Board, the majority of the members of which devote but a small portion of their time to this work, is unwieldy, inefficient, and extravagant, and that under it and the present administration public ownership and operation will not receive a fair trial.

Adequate facilities and tonnage for ocean traffic are a vital concern to the commerce of Canada and the utter lack of foresight on the part of the Government in neglecting to see that such facilities and tonnage were provided for the immediate After-the-War period is not only humiliating to the Canadian people, but is materially impairing our export trade.

At this time when the country should be in a position to take full advantage of the opportunities to secure its proper share of the export business on which the financial, industrial, and agricultural future of Canada depends, we are confronted with the lamentable situation that no adequate provision has been made for the transportation of the products of the farm, the factory and the forests to the markets of the world. With the knowledge of the enormous destruction of tonnage by the havoc of war in its possession, the failure of the Government to protect the trade of Canada against the condition that now confronts it shows an absence of business ability which merits the severest condemnation of the people of Canada.

This Convention declares its fullest confidence in the future of Canada, believing that a wise and economical development of our natural resources and a judicious and vigorous immigration and colonization policy, coupled with stringent economy and efficient management in every department of Government, will solve the transportation and other difficult problems now confronting the country.

Resolution on Control of Liquor Traffic

Whereas the regulation, restriction and prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors, within their several jurisdictions, are vested in the provinces, this Convention is firmly of the opinion that when, for the effective enforcement of restrictive or prohibitive legislation enacted by any province, supplemental federal legislation is, by the legislature of said provinces, deemed necessary, such legislation should, on the request of said legislature, be enacted by the Federal Parliament.

Resolution on National Unity

Recognizing that the crown of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's life work and the dearest wish of his heart was the establishment of racial concord and national unity throughout the Dominion, the Liberal Party of Canada in National Convention assembled emphatically

condemns all attempts to create racial discord and national disunion and would hold up as a last ng example to the Canadian people the inspiring ideal of that great Canadian—a united Canada in which all Canadians shall be on an equal footing, all working together in harmony and concord for the upbuilding and aggrandizement of their common country.

Resolution on Control of Natural Resources by Provinces

Resolved that the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta should be granted the ownership and control of the natural resources within their respective boundaries on terms that are fair and equitable, with reference to all other provinces of the Dominion.

Resolution of Thanks to All Aiding in the Work of the Convention

That the thanks of this National Liberal Convention be, and they are hereby, tendered to Mr. Andrew Haydon, for the inestimable services which he has rendered the Liberal Party of Canada in gratuitously discharging the duties of General Secretary, during months of arduous work; to the members of the Committees associated with him in arranging the preparatory work of the Convention; to the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Ottawa, for the free use of the buildings in which the meetings of the Convention, and of its several Committees, have been held; to the Honourable the Minister of Militia and Defence, and the officials of the Departments of Militia and Defence, Public Works, and the Canadian Exhibition Office, for their kindness in providing many of the facilities enjoyed by the delegates attending the Convention; to the Speaker and Officers of the House of Commons for courtesies extended by them; and to all others who in various ways, too numerous to specify, have assisted in making the Convention an unexampled success.

Resolution of Thanks to Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P., Duncan C. Ross, M.P. and Lucien Pacaud, M.P.

That this Convention places on record its high appreciation of the indefatigable efforts and untiring energy of the Hon. Charles Murphy, Chairman of the Local Convention Committee, in splendidly planning and carrying out the executive work of the greatest, most successful, and most truly representative political convention ever held in Canada.

And this Convention further desires to express its appreciation of the assistance given by Mr. Duncan C. Ross and Mr. Lucien Pacaud, in the discharge of their onerous duties as Assistant Secretaries.

Resolution of Thanks to Press

That a cordial vote of thanks be accorded the representatives of the Press for their excellent reports of the proceedings of this Convention.

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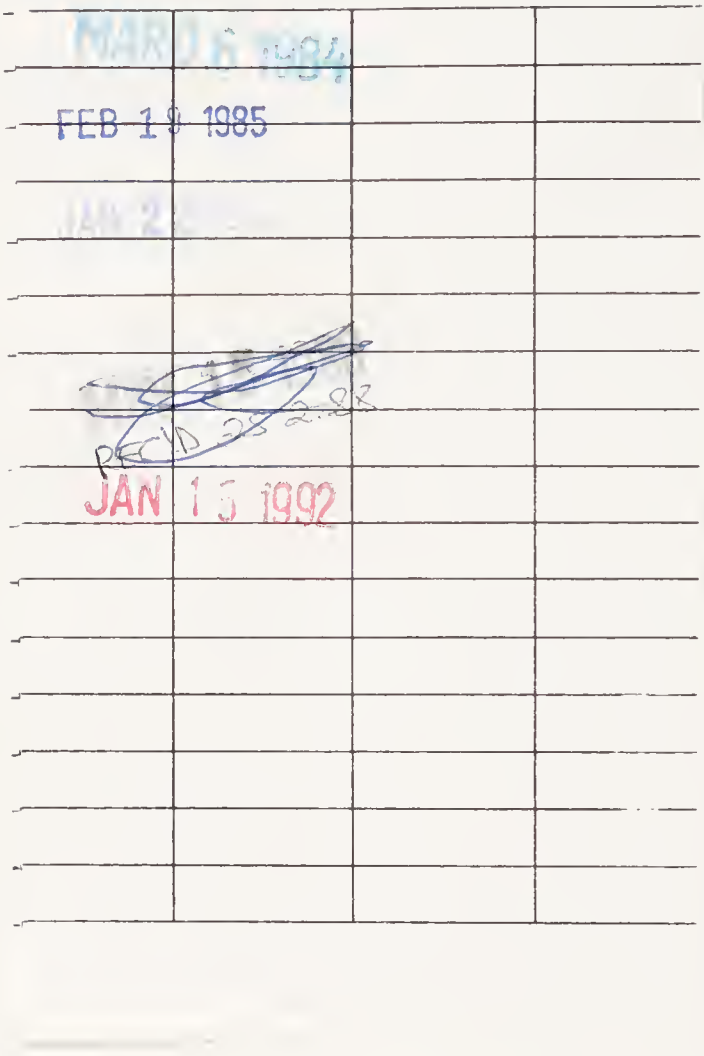

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